inside the scherm, he outside. Apparently no social rules pattern their sleeping. 513
Individual adjustments are made. 593

The boys must before they marry have proved themselves to be hunters and must 582
have had performed over them the most important ceremony in the life of a /Kung 224
boy—the Ceremony of the First Killing. The killing of birds or small animals does 884
not qualify him for the ceremony; the animal he kills must be one of the great
antelopes or a giraffe or buffalo, any one of the large animals killed for meat. When
the boy himself has killed one of these, he is ceremonially scarified by his father or [304]
by another kinsman if his father is dead. The ceremony is performed twice for each boy. For the first male animal he is scarified on his right side and for the first female on his left side. Charred meat and fat, turned to magic by the ceremony, are rubbed into the several lines of vertical cuts on his face, arms, back, and chest to give him the will to hunt, good sight, and accurate aim; also to enable him to find the animal and to protect him from being seen by the animal. The ceremony is both a solemn celebration and a magic force to increase and strengthen the boy's power to hunt. It also carries with it the right to marriage and attests the boy's readiness.

Marriage does not necessarily follow immediately upon this ceremony; years may
elapse, but the way is prepared and readiness is proved. And once more the act of 585
hunting is ceremonially linked with marriage. At the time of the wedding, the boy 224
must bring to his bride's parents an animal that he himself has killed. The animal he brings must not be eaten by the bride.

A boy who never killed any large meat animal would not be given a wife, informants 582
said. This was why the strange old deviant, /Gaishay, had remained a 589
bachelor. For reasons no one understood he could not hunt; he gathered veldkos
like a woman. Gossip had it that twice he had tried to drag a woman against her will [462]
into his scherm but had not succeeded. Informants remarked, 'Women like meat.' They do, but there is far more to it than that.

As John Marshall shows in his film, *The Hunters*, the primary sources of physical 562
life, sex and food, are involved. In /Kung concept they are linked together, and, as 828
they pertain to men, their duality is lifted to oneness in the being of the man, who
is the sexually powerful male and the provider, the hunter. Power as a man and a male 224
and worthiness and dignity are associated with hunting and not with the failure to hunt.

Since they are related, both the sexual and the hunting powers of the young man
can be captured at once with a bride. For the first several years of marriage the 583
boy goes to live with his bride's parents, or her people, should her parents be dead, [591]
to hunt for them. The parents of girls speak constantly of wanting their sons-in-law [606]
to provide them with food as though it were an obsession. 'We are old', they say, or 'We shall soon be old [whether this is actually true or not]; we need a young man to hunt for us'; 'our daughter's husband must get us something to eat'; 'we need karosses'; 'we want meat'—these are their refrains.

Another value the /Kung place upon the boy's hunting during his bride-service
appears in their belief that if the husband hunts for his wife and feeds her while she [581]
is still a growing child she becomes the more his. Food seems to be a main concern
in bride-service, but the people also say that they want to be sure that the boy [593]
measures up in every way and will take good care of their daughter, and that the girl will have time to get used to her husband.

159 585 Band 2. She was /Nai's second cousin (MoFaBrSoDa) and the first cousin once removed of the groom (MoSiDaDa). The attendants were not selected for their precise relationship to the bride. They were the only young kinswomen present in the two bands. The girls sat down and chatted with /Nai for a moment and then stood up and, giggling and chattering, took /Nai by the arms. /Nai drew back. Then Xama pulled /Nai's arms over her shoulders, bent and took /Nai on to her back so that her feet did not touch the ground. Xama carried /Nai in this position to the wedding scherm, laid her down inside, to the left of the opening as one entered, in the dark shadow, and covered her over with the kaross. There /Nai remained. We did not see her again that night.

It is the custom for the parents to take brands from their own fires to light the wedding fire of the bride and groom. Presumably this was done, though I did not see it. When the girls arrived the fire was burning and a young man, a cousin of the groom, was tending it. The two girls sat down by the fire on the women's side.

562 834 352 /Kung men and women must sit on opposite sides of the fire.[1] They believe that if male and female genital organs should touch the same spot on the ground the man's hunting powers would be vitiated and the woman would get a sickness in her genitourinary tract, not an ordinary, human, communicable disease but a magical one. The woman's side is to the left as one faces the entrance to the scherm, the men's to the right. The fire is always in front of the entrance if the scherm is built, but, more often than not, if the weather is good, or the people are travelling and staying [342] only one night, or the wife is lazy, she hangs the family belongings in a bush and does not build a scherm. Then it is the custom to thrust two upright sticks into the ground to represent the entrance, so that the family may orient itself.

In the werf of Band 2, about twenty or thirty yards to the west, a group of boys had 159 585 come to /Gunda to attend him. They were all the young boys of the werf who were approximately his age, two cousins (MoSiSo) and four of the sons of /Gunda's stepfather by his first wife. The boys made a show of catching /Gunda and held him by the arms for a moment, laughing and talking. Then they formed a line with /Gunda following at the end, walked to the wedding fire, and sat down on the men's

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224 833 [1] This taboo reveals the association which, I believe, the /Kung make between the hunting power of men and the male sexual principle. Both must be protected, and sexual activity must be controlled and constrained lest the life-giving and food-producing force of men be weakened or drained away. During the period of a hunt a man must not have sexual intercourse—that is, while the man is looking for game and, after he has shot his little poisoned arrow into the animal, while he is tracking it for miles and waiting and watching for days till it dies of the poison. A hunt usually demands many days and nights of effort and privation.

[783] [841] Too frequent indulgence in sexual intercourse with one's wife, even when no hunt is in progress, is believed to diminish a man's hunting power. Some men believed that once in five nights was best; others thought once in three nights was all right. Men who have the joking relationship constantly play upon the theme of excess, taunting each other: 'You do not know hunting, you know women', 'You cannot leave your wife long enough to hunt.'

The /Kung are less strict about another taboo. A woman is supposed not to touch a man's hunting gear at any time, because this would lessen his power to hunt. But I have often seen women touch assegais and quivers. Indeed it has sometimes been urgently necessary to do so when the children got hold of them, as, for instance, when the three-year-old ≠Gao, agile as a flea, took after us with his father's assegai, infuriated with us for some sudden notion of his own. There is a medicine called *gow gowne*, made from a plant, which may be rubbed on the weapons to purify them if they are touched by women, but I never saw this done and doubted if anyone bothered with it. The effect of a woman's touching the hunting gear is much stronger if she is menstruating. I assume they are more careful then.

logical father, as well as his mother's husband, should do something nice for him. 159
Perhaps when he receives his first assegai his begetter will give it, for that is a very 848
proud thing—but we do not know what the future holds for these people or where
they will be by then.

The dominance of men

Wives are much desired by the young men, who usually wait for years for their 562
infant fiancées to grow up, and by men who want second wives, and by widowers. [581]
/Kung women are not only precious as mates, they are the food-gatherers and supply [222]
more of the daily food than the men do. Hunting[1] is very arduous in the Kalahari and [462]
the hunters succeed in bringing a big meat animal to the werf only about once or
twice a month. Meanwhile women have dug roots and gathered berries and the other [224]
wild plant foods to feed their families every day. /Kung women in their two roles
make a very great contribution.

In /Kung society, however, the magnitude of their contribution does not make women dominant. There are factors which bring the men forward clearly into dominance and leadership.

The primary factor is undoubtedly strength. /Kung men are small and slender, [142]
but they are wiry and vigorous. With their strength they carry and protect the very 147
life of their people. When they swing their weapons and implements and their small children on to their shoulders and stride out in front of the women, the image seems to reveal, as vividly as if a great artist had painted it, how the laden following women are borne up by the strength of their men and take heart from them.

Another factor which brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and 462
its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is only drudgery in digging and 562
picking in the hot sun and trudging back in the early evening to the werf with heavy [222]
roots and berries and babies all sagging in the pouches of their karosses, a small dead
tree or two on one shoulder for the night fire, possibly another child astride the other
shoulder. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh [262]
and are not very satisfying. There is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving [262]
for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally
the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful [224]
emotions. Once, when an eland had been killed and the hunters were sighted
with the meat on their backs, moving in a dark, lumpy, bobbing line in the golden [152]
grass, we heard the sound of voices in the werf rising in volume and pitch like the hum of excited bees. Some people ran toward the hunters, others crowded together at the edge of the werf, some danced up and down, the children squealed and ran about, the boys grappled and tussled together. The motion and sound had the effect of a vibration. Another time a young man who was said to be the best hunter in
the region (/Qui Hunter we called him, his people called him Short /Qui), had been 462
charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. 562
He knelt facing the creature till it was within close range and shot an arrow straight 224

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[1] John Marshall has described /Kung hunting in his film, *The Hunters*, Peabody Museum Film Study Center, Harvard University, and in 'Man as Hunter', *Natural History*, the magazine of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, vol. lxvii, No. 6, June, and No. 7, August, 1958. [113]

562 into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by
[462] /Qui's wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes
[224] and the women, some of the plumes in their hair, danced a dance of praise around
him. This is the role of /Kung men and the way it should be.

By comparison with the men, the women are considerably more circumscribed in
157 knowledge, less ready for new experience, more suspicious and apprehensive of
562 strangers. They draw back and seem on the whole somewhat timid. The men protect them in many ways. They would not let the women ride with us in the truck, for instance, unless some of the men were with them.

The women expect the dependent role. They have their say in conversation but do not take part in the serious conclaves of the men, saying often, ' The men know these things. We do not know. The men must decide. ' And one woman said, 'A man can do everything—shoot and make fire. ' /Kung women are encouraged to be compliant by the fact that, in their love of peace, the /Kung like quiet, modest, gentle women. Overbearing, strident, demanding, or nagging women would disturb not only their own husbands but the whole werf. Disapproval of anyone's behaviour
[626] is expressed by the group in talk, and also by songs, such as the song of *The Two Baus*, which was composed about two loudly quarrelsome co-wives. When the two Baus heard this song strummed on the *//guashi* or hummed here and there in the shadows of the werf at night, they mended their ways.

Though the /Kung like gentleness and compliance in women, their society does
562 not impose extreme forms of obedience or subservience upon them and women are not ill treated. One man told Laurence Marshall that if he wanted to go somewhere and his wife wanted to go somewhere else he might have to talk, talk, talk, talk, talk, talk to persuade her.

We once saw a woman strike her husband on the head with her digging-stick in
562 a fit of frustration because he had coerced her to go with him when she wanted to
593 remain visiting her parents. He had coerced her swiftly and decisively by snatching her baby from her arms and walking ahead with it. In a flash the wife ran a few steps and hit him, then she went around in a circle, stamping her feet in great, high stamps like an enraged samurai in a Japanese print, then she followed her husband. I personally never saw a /Kung man hit a woman. This is not to say no /Kung ever did, but it is far from common.

The dominance of the /Kung men is more protective and life-giving than crushing to the women. On the whole a good balance seems to be attained and there is a notable freedom from quarrelling between husbands and wives. The instances of strife that we have mentioned are exceptional breaks in the usual peace of their well-adjusted human relations.

/142 cont./

527 ample food, they always "celebrate."

304 The tattoo artist receives no special fee; he is simply provided with food and shelter.

When the forehead tattoo is applied, the patient lies on his back with his head slightly raised. The skin of the forehead above the root of the nose is folded together and drawn up by a man using his thumbs and index fingers. The tattoo artist then makes the little transverse incisions in this fold of skin.

Among men, decorative scars take the place of a hunt record. ●[224] For each piece of big game that a man has killed, he wears a horizontal decorative scar, on the right upper arm for male game and on the left upper arm for female game.

[858] Only boys, not men, have scars made for small game (duiker, ibex). Older successful hunters finally dispense altogether with having scars made, after they have enough of them to display.

These decorative scars are made in a manner similar to that used for the forehead tattoo. Sweat (blood) from the killed animal is always rubbed into them, and usually also the green pigment. [237] The hunting scars are made by any one of the older men. The length of the scars is approximately one-half to one centimeter, the breadth approximately one-quarter to one-half centimeter.

Decorative Scars (or Tattooing) among Women

Green decorative scars on the upper thigh and buttocks up to the waist are worn by all women. These scars can be seen in Photograph 14.

[887] The scars are made in the same way as the forehead tattoo, except that older women make them.

Further investigation was impossible since the Bushmen are very suspicious regarding their women. I am quite content to have succeeded in taking at least one photograph which illustrates these decorative scars tolerably well.

Men and women pierce their earlobes in precisely the same way as is customary among us.

Circumcision is not practiced.

According to statements of the Auin, the labia minora are sometimes clipped.

/144 cont./

411 [237] quiver. Sometimes the arrows are in a special quiver made of eland horn or bark, which is closed off at both ends with a leather cover (see Photos. 29 and 32).

The Auin almost always carries in his quiver a small container like the arrow quiver of eland horn or bark just described, in which he keeps arrowheads, poison, and other small necessities for shooting.

The notched end of the arrow is pulled toward the chest when the bow is drawn.

714 The war cap is to be regarded as the sole battle ornament. It is made of aardwolf hide (see Photo. 21).

H. Hunting and Agriculture

● 224 Hunting is done both individually and in groups.

[231] [439] Hunting dogs are to be found in occasional, isolated instances, but then they are usually obtained from the Kaffir or Betschuana. The Auin maintain, however, that they know how to train hunting dogs. Collars and the like are not customary.

/145/ [Fig. 8 appears here.]

[422] I was unable to discover whether marks of ownership are applied to weapons and the like. On the other hand, I noticed that people immediately recognize their possessions.

There are no closed seasons on hunting.

251 The Auin prepares a kind of dried meat. Pieces of meat of any length and width are cut very thin (almost transparent) and are dried on trees in the sun. This dried mass, as hard as wood and inedible to a European, keeps for weeks during the dry season. [264] There must be an almost unlimited surplus of meat available, however, if the Auin is to decide to preserve some, since he is accustomed to stuff himself to the point of unconsciousness. I have seen a single Bushman, without any help, consume a fully grown Klipbok weighing about six kilograms.

224 Undoubtedly there are especially industrious and impassioned huntsmen, as well as the opposite. I found some people who were absolutely useless on the hunt.

[Text continues on page 25]

/145 cont./

● 224 The main method of hunting is to stalk the game with bow and poisoned arrow. It is unnecessary, I believe, to emphasize that the Auin, like every Bushman, is an unsurpassed master of this art. He usually shoots at a distance of only a few paces. This manner of hunting is applicable to almost every type of game.

In the following I shall describe how the Auin customarily kill the main types of game. I have omitted stalking in those cases where it is naturally also a secondary method of hunting.

Gemsbok and wildebeest. The Bushman stays on the track for days on end and does not give the animal any rest. Finally he hunts it down to finish it off. A large tree branch with many twigs is thrust between the gemsbok's horns. While the gemsbok tries to rid itself of the branch, the Bushman severs its posterior flexing sinews or throws his spear at its shoulder blade.

Overtaking a gemsbok on foot sounds very much like a hunter's exaggeration, but the physiological explanation is that the Bushman simply does not allow the animal any rest for digestion and ruminating. After several hours an inflammation of the stomach sets in, which makes the animal almost incapable of movement.

The other large animals, such as the giraffe, eland, hartebeest, ostrich, and the springbok, cannot be approached in this way, and for them the Bushman confines himself to stalking. The small /146/ bucks can only be finished off when they are mired in wet ground.

Guinea fowl are stealthily approached and killed by stones
[223] or a stick thrown at them.

The aardvark is dug out. The Bushman, however, tackles this laborious job only if the aardvark cannot go too deep, in other words, if it is suspected that rocky subsoil lies below the
[177] sand. For this purpose he uses a spade (obtained from the Whites) which is usually the common property of the settlement. How he could accomplish it without a spade is unclear to me, since the aardvark digs about as rapidly as a practiced workman with a spade.

The porcupine and the anteater are likewise dug out.

Hares are hunted by throwing sticks at them. Hunting them, however, is said to be only rarely successful. Usually a small

/146 cont./

● 224 pitfall is put on the trail. I have never seen larger pitfalls for big game in the Auin region.

[171] [411] The jumping hare is held fast in its burrow (not pulled out!) and pressed against the end of it with the well-known angling stick of the South Africans, which among the Auin displays no special characteristics. A vertical hole is then dug from above, and the animal is taken out.

Hyrax. The exits of the burrow are blocked and then an opening is made (that is, dug in from the top).

Leopards are hunted only when several keen dogs are available. The animal is then covered by the dogs and killed with spears by several Bushmen. Without dogs, the Bushman dispenses with this sport, which every expert will understand.

The cheetah is pursued on foot by several people until it is exhausted and then killed with clubs and spears.

Hyenas are not hunted. They are smoked out only when a brood with young animals has been found in a hole in the ground, and the asphyxiated animals are then dug out.

The aardwolf is suffocated in his burrow by smoke and then dug out.

The jackal is not hunted since the Bushman supposedly does not get it anyway.

The wild dog (Lycaon pictus) is not hunted. I believe that in case of an encounter between the two the Bushman himself would usually constitute the game.

[237] [223] In isolated cases the skin of an ostrich, with a stick placed in the neck, is used as a mask. The hunter slips into the skin after he has colored his legs with chalky soil. This mask is used for hunting ostriches as well as other types of game.

[281] The Bushman is unable to make other masks since he cannot soften the skins of larger animals without changing their natural appearance. At the same time, the Auin described other masks to me so accurately that I could not doubt that their manufacture and use was known to them.

The characteristic sound of the young springbok, duiker, and klipbok is imitated with the lips while the nose is held with the index and middle finger.

The frightened scream of the young gemsbok and wildebeest is likewise imitated.

/146 cont./

223 In addition, hiding places are set up near ostrich nests in order to note the time when the young animals creep out of the egg. If the Auin wants to kill the ostrich hen in her nest, he waits for a moment when the hen has left the nest and sticks an arrow into the ground between the eggs, with the poisoned point upward. When the hen sits down to hatch her eggs, the poisoned point pierces her body and she dies after a few seconds. This perfidious form of hunting is the reason that one encounters many more ostrich cocks than hens in the Kalahari.

224 Hunting drives are used for gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, and springbok.

Hunting by fire is unknown.

[223] The following animals are caught with snares: ibex, giant bustard, duiker, ostrich, guinea fowl, Koran [?], aardvark, jumping hare, ground squirrel, sand grouse, Greek partridge, smaller species of cat, and small antelopes.

A snare is matter-of-course for animals that inhabit caves, for example, the aardvark. It is placed around the entrance and fastened to a tree. The animal then draws the snare up tight when it goes in or out of the cave.

223 224 For fowl and small bucks, long, special trails which the animals are forced to use are constructed of thorny shrubbery and provided with narrow openings. If the animal tries to go through the opening, its neck is caught in a snare. Bait, of course, is not necessary. Such special trails, of which I have seen specimens as long as 1,000 meters, by no means constitute an impassable corral; rather, they are constructed of very low branches, loosely lying next to one another, which the game could jump over without any difficulty. Generally, however, the animal ambles along such /147/ a trail until it finds a convenient opening.

223 Ostriches, giant bustards, Korane, guinea fowl, sand grouse, and Greek partridges are caught by means of the spring trap. A little tree, whose strength depends upon the game to be caught (for the ostrich, naturally, it has to be fairly strong), is bent down to the ground and held by means of a string. The string ends in a noose which is fastened to the ground with wooden pegs. Bait (usually a ball of resin) is put in the middle of the circle formed by the noose. By means of a simple connection, the

/147 cont./

223 noose is released when the animal takes the bait, and at the
same time the gallows springs back and pulls the animal up in
the air by its neck. Concerning the material used to make the
noose, see page 41 . The arrowheads of the Auin are generally
411 poisoned. I have also found arrows which had only a single unpoisoned
bone point. These are used for sport, perhaps also for
killing small birds.

Manufacture of the arrow poison. Burkea africana (firewood
278 of the Bushmen) is inhabited during the rainy season by a beetle
(or a species of termite?) which toward the end of the rainy
season pupates in the soil under the tree. The larvae are dug up,
killed, dried in the sun, and rubbed between stones.

Roots of the thorny tschamma (Cucumis heptactylus Naud.)
are laid on red-hot coals, taken out warm, and the bitter sap
pressed out. This sap is mixed with the poisonous paste, and the
resulting dirty, reddish-brown preparation represents the finished
arrow poison. The poison is applied to the arrow point in a layer
several millimeters thick and dries there.

The Bushmen greatly fear their own arrow poison and always
278 carry the poisoned point hidden in the shaft. The poisoned end
411 is exposed only just before it is to be used. The layer of poison
on the iron points, which because of their width cannot be concealed
in the arrow shaft, is always wrapped with bast which is
not taken off until the arrow is to be used. All Auin can make
arrow poison and readily demonstrate the process.

● 224 The decorative scars described on page 16 are to be regarded
304 as hunting trophies.

The hunters supposedly tell exaggerated tales. Quarrels on
521 these occasions sometimes end in bloodshed.
578

[231] The only domestic animal is the dog.

The Bushman doctor is supposed to let blood for healing pur-
757 poses. For instance, in the case of a man who could not run
well, bloody incisions were made in his upper thigh. On the
other hand, I do not know whether this procedure can be described
as "bloodletting." Scars from such incisions were shown to me
several times.

413 The surgical instrument is a little sharpened piece of iron.

WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD

[6 cont.]

101 account refers only to the latter.

821 [7] The sky is designated by them as !nanu áiba Éroba Kharésa ("rain house of god").

776 For god they have the expressions "Erob" and "χ'amab;"
775 only "Erob" is used in prayers. χ'amab (1) has been preserved in χ'amá //gu Khe = "people who are with god," in other words, the souls of the deceased in heaven. Everyone goes there, the good as well as the bad. Erob has no wife and no children. A human being has only one soul (!gau-ba). This soul goes to the heavenly house and remains there "until Erob makes new people from it." Here is a belief in the transmigration of souls, which, it must be admitted, is not thought through any further.

No spirits of the dead remain on earth. There are little
776 bush spirits, the gangorob; they are harmless and do nothing. There are no evil little spirits. They supposedly know nothing about Heiseb and /Nawa.

136 The supply of game is ample in the tall dry forests of the Otjimpolo Veld. There are also fish in the rainy season. The
[825] Bushmen call them "shiba" (Ovambo: oshi or ochi); in other words, originally they had no word for them.

224 The Bushmen are helpless against the lion (χ'oréba).
[825] They leave a region as soon as lions make it unsafe. "There is no point in hunting them."

The leopard (χ'nába) is hunted with dogs (ariba). The
[439] chiefs of Amboland pay a good price for the skin, since little princes and princesses are not carried in a litter made of cowhide, but in a leopard skin. The jackal (≠Khai-eba) and the Löffelhund (//arúba) [a fox-like wild dog of the subfamily Octocyoninae] are hunted with enthusiasm. "Aruba" probably corresponds to N. //arob = striped jackal.

Wild dogs, "Khere," !nube (N. !goub) are preferably
[825] avoided. No notice is taken of the hyena, ≠Khai-lasa (N. ≠heirab),
[262] and it is not eaten. When they come near the camp, it is not a
[787] good sign.

1. χ indicates a very low gutteral click, for which I know of no notation.

[7 cont.]

222 The honey badger, !uisa (N. !ous), which leads to the
825 bees, is followed ever so eagerly.

224 The common wild pig (gariba), the kudu (daub), the gemsbok χ'uaba (N. /gaib), and all the small antelopes are hunted. Pits are no longer known, although they used to dig them in former times.

[834] If they decide to go hunting, sexual intercourse must be avoided the night before. In the evening the hunters go into the forest and spend the night there. Before dawn they rise and pray:

[539] Pu, pu, Eró, /nari dsu /ari mate	God, tomorrow early we receive.

When a piece of game has been killed, one of the hunters cuts a piece of flesh from the animal's body and hands it to the leader of the hunt. This meat is called am-shái-khe. A fire is made, and this piece is placed on it. When it is roasted, the leader cuts off a piece and shouts:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, ha gore, ha gore	Erob, Erob, Erob, eat, eat
i Khe Khandi ô	With us flesh.

After a pause:

ha lě a lě ha góre o Khandi ô	Come! Come! Let us eat flesh.

Now the roasted flesh is consumed. Nothing is thrown away or left behind for Erob.

Then the game is cut up, and everyone goes home with his portion.

136 Snakes are not rare, although they are by no means as common as in the stony regions of the southwest.

The boa constrictor eats human beings; if it catches a Bushman, it starts to consume him at the legs!

132
821
731 In spite of the timber forest, the danger of drought is great. Erob sends rain. When there is a drought, the Bushmen dance and pray:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, /ga !goro	Erob, Erob, Erob, we are dying of thirst
/ga-wi -ma ta re	Water give us.

177
776
782 [8] It is very interesting to observe how in these certainly very ancient hunting and rain prayers the former old heathen gods' names Huwe and χ'amab were replaced by the Christian "Ellob."

I asked the people whether they knew any other prayers and received the following answer: "We know very well that

[12 cont.]

843 262 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no bushbuck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present. As soon as the umbilical cord (//náëba) has fallen off, the child's hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut. [553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed, wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its left side in an extended position with the head toward the west. Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to weep. Offerings are not brought.

● 224 [177] At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khoá !Khuâsha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khâi-wa), and a circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the circle and on the leaves and says:

[539] //am ≠haiba, //am ≠haiba (?)

[782] The leader answers:

!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Lord! Lord! We must now go hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marksman first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

224 422 This procedure is of the greatest interest. In the lower form of hunting practiced by primitive peoples, the individual huntsman is the undisputed owner of the game he has killed. In the case of the more highly organized hunting that these Bushmen practice today, the property right of the individual hunter is still stressed through these ceremonies, although ultimately the hunter receives no more meat than his companions.

222 [184] [462] [857] [233] The gathering of veldkost does not have the great significance here that it does in the east. After all, the women already commonly cultivate a little garden plot, and the youngsters herd a few goats, while the men still practice hunting as their main OCCUPATION.

UUKUALUTHI

/14 cont./

000 chronic, good-natured imbiber . . .

776 In heaven there is one god, Erob. Lightning (dábara)
[821] and rain (!nanus) are sent by him. He calls heaven χ'ameiba. This word is very interesting. It can mean both "place of the /15/ souls (χ'a)" or "place of the χ'amab." The souls
[775] (um-ské) go to heaven after death. "This is what they say," said the man, "I haven't been there yet."

He did not know Gauab and Heiseb. Concerning other spirits, he said that people had mentioned them, but he did not believe in them. The spirits are supposedly called "gangarob."
756 The old Bushmen had neither doctors nor medicines against ill-
753 nesses. To my question about what made people ill, he responded with philosophical equanimity: "If one becomes ill, he is ill like an animal." He knew nothing about the sun (soris)
[821]
[778] and moon (χ'ab). A sacred fire is unknown to him.

● 224 Of greatest interest is his report, undoubtedly based
782 upon autopsy, concerning an initial offering at the hunt. I give the report in literal translation:

"Before people go out to the hunt, they meet at an omsati tree (//Khaia-aib). There a fire is made. Each hunter rips off a number of leaves, spits on them, and throws them into the fire as he shouts:

[539] Érob, Érob, áu tere! God, God, help us!

"When the game has been killed, one first cuts a piece each from the lung, liver, and stomach and throws each piece singly to the side, saying all the while:

Érob úre, Érob úre! God take, God take!

[539] "Then they start to eat."

This function is performed by the one who has killed the game.

881 The following was communicated to me concerning the
585 social organization:

There are initiation ceremonies. The celebration of the first menstruation originally coincided with the wedding. On the first day of menstruation the girl went into a pontok especially constructed for this purpose. Then there was dancing for two or three days, and after the cessation of the menses the girl went to

[27 cont.]

805 the like, but they have only ten months. They name them after terrestrial phenomena.

!Kai dsắa	It is cold (winter)	June
gama /ếi	The grass burns	July-August
!hoắ sori	It is hot	September-October
!u shē̆	The rain begins	November
≠khǒ shē	The trees bloom	December
/hō //gā̀i	It is raining	January
!Khan //gai	The veldkost is coming up	February
!nẫ -mâ	The veldkost is ripe	March
ao rế //kum //kắ	The rain is stopping	April
!hoắ //gai	The year is at an end	May

They reckon also from harvest to harvest.

221 The most beautiful time in the life of the Bushman is March and April. Even those who live on the farms hurry into the wilderness at that time. At certain places where there are many fruit trees, such as the marula, the friendly kin groups gather from far and wide. Here the young men look for brides, and there is much dancing, because at this time the women are not tired from seeking veldkost which is now to be found everywhere. Hunting yields less at this time, since the game has water and pasture everywhere.

Soon, however, the leaves fall, the bush forest becomes red and yellow, the migratory birds fly northward, and then the first [753] cold nights set in. Now the "Dsao" (spirits of sickness) come and bring sickness to the chest. At the end of May and the beginning of July [sic] the first frosts set in. Now the Bushmen move to the watering places, which stay open for a long time. The nights now [374] [513] become torture. Burns on the skin of the chest and abdomen occur frequently, because the Bushmen now lie very close to the fire to sleep. Around this time, some of the kin groups already begin to suffer distress, because the game moves to other regions where there is still some pasture. In July the grass is finally dry ● [224] enough so that it can be set afire. Now the entire steppe burns. The young grass again attracts the game; hunting improves. The hot season is the worst period; the resting places of the game are quite uncertain, veldkost becomes increasingly scant, and the

!KUNG

[27 cont.]

221 Bushmen shrink to miserable skeletons. Many of them at this
[648] time[1] run to the Blacks or Whites in order to earn something. In
[731] dry years no attention is paid to the kin group boundaries. All
[423] gather around the few water holes that are still open. As soon as the rain begins, conditions start to improve; the people start moving out in various directions, not to meet again until several months later at the time of the veldkost harvest here and there.

7. The Course of Life

584 I shall render in literal translation the account that my informant gave of the way a young man courts a girl:

If a young man wants to marry a girl, he must first speak to her and say: "I love you and want to marry you." If the girl is willing, she says first: "You must wait." Then she goes to her parents and asks them whether they have heard that the boy has spoken to her. The parents then ask whether the girl wants to marry the man. [28] If the girl says, "Yes," then the parents say, "He wants you; he has seen that you are good and hard-working; you may marry." If, however, the young man has thought the matter over and takes back his words, the girl goes to her parents once more, and the boy to his. The latter say: "You wanted it this way; nothing can be done about it." In case the girl definitely gives her consent, however, the young man brings all kinds of little presents and gives them to his future bride, who takes them to her parents. The parents-in-law must now in turn give presents. With the exchange of presents, the
[583] marriage is regarded as legally concluded.

[114] The hunting test described by Passarge (1) and others is not

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[113]

(1) Passarge, Die Buschmänner der Kalahari, 1907.

the rule. Some vain girls demand it, and sometimes young men will voluntarily go through with it in order to beat his rivals. This hunting test is carried out in the following manner. The boy goes hunting without weapons and pursues the game (as a rule,

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[1] [i.e. The hot season -- Analyst]

[28 cont.]

224 a gemsbok) until it is tired and then drives it to the vicinity of
584 the hut of his intended. The pursuit of such a large antelope is
not as difficult as it looks, for these ruminants are seized with
serious cramps if they are not given time to settle down to ruminate.
In other words, the pursuit of such a large antelope simply
involves continually disturbing the animal for a long period of
time. Then the young man calls to the people and asks them for
weapons. All of them leap up, and the girl, too, stands up and
watches as her people run with the spears. The hunter kills the
game before her eyes. Then they bring the meat and cook it,
and the girl says: "That is a courageous hunter; I want to marry
584 him." It is not unusual, however, for a young man to marry far
away from his relatives, without having asked for the consent of
his parents. In that case, the young woman must stay with her
parents while the husband returns home and reports the marriage
to his parents. The latter say: "How can you do this, when we
don't know whether it will turn out all right?" The husband,
however, says: "I have already done it, and I am merely telling
you." Thereupon the parents answer: "Well, it's all right."
[591] Then the husband returns to his young wife, or to her kin group
and brings his wife and child to his own kin group, where they are
received. According to Vedder (Tsumeb), the young man sends
a messenger with a piece of game to the father of the girl of his
choice. If the father accepts the game, the betrothal is regarded
583 as concluded. As soon as the youth moves to the encampment of
591 his father-in-law, the marriage is regarded as concluded. He
[585] must work for a year for his father-in-law and deliver all hunting
spoils to him, but he may not enter the hut of his parents-in-law.
Once the first child is born, he moves with wife and child to his
kin group.

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Von Zastrow and Vedder (2) report on the conclusion of a

[113]

2. Von Zastrow and Vedder, "Die Buschmänner," p. 417, in Schultze-Ewarth, Das Eingeborenenrecht, Vol. II.

marriage:

"There is much dancing. The animal dances have a pervasive erotic element. In one of the first dances the bridegroom

[28 cont.]

535 makes his appearance as the bull of some animal species that the
585 two kin groups especially prize. He takes his place in the row of dancing men. Across from them the women have taken up their position in a long row and accompany the dance by stamping, singing, and clapping their hands. The bride stands among them. She is in no way distinguished from the other women and girls. After a few turns, the bridegroom steps out of the row of men, goes dancing toward the bride, seizes her, and dances back again. The bride then comes from the row of women, clapping her hands, stamping, and singing as she moves toward the bridegroom; without touching him, she turns back, keeping her face turned toward the bridegroom, and rejoins the row of female dancers. With this, the external formality of concluding the marriage in front of many witnesses is over.

583 "It is the young man's duty, however, to leave his paternal
591 kin group for a year and to work for his parents-in-law. This means that any spoils he gets from hunting must be left in his mother-in-law's hut. He, of course, gets his piece during the distribution of the meat, but he is not yet regarded as the actual provider for his young wife, who, as before, receives her share of the meat from her mother, although she searches for veldkost for herself and her husband.

[224] "As a hunter, the man eats only the flesh of the rump.
262 The women and children receive the legs and intestines. Children are not allowed to eat certain parts; for example, a child may
[825] not eat the heart of a jackal. The child would not become sick
[828] by doing so, but since the jackal is very cowardly, the child would also become cowardly.

591 [29] "After the first year of marriage with its obligatory service, the young wife follows her husband to the encampment where the man's father or his kin group resides.

845 "If the child is so weak that it probably will not live,
847 or if it has a physical defect, it is buried alive on the same day, with or without the consent of the father and mother.

553 "The name of the child is given by the father. This is
852 done a few days after birth. The father spits on the child's chest and calls it by name. Others sprinkle it with water from a well.

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[30 cont.]

881 old people are seated. The young man may not eat any of the meat; he may only drink the soup, which is also rubbed on him. From now on he is regarded as an adult, a marriageable man;
582
584 his parents ask him whether he wants to be married. The boy commonly replies: "I am still weak and do not know whether I can take good care of her." Then the parents allow him to wait until he himself wants to marry. Von Zastrow and Vedder (p. 415) report the following concerning the boys' initiation:

[31] "On this occasion the boys are told how they must
881 conduct themselves when they go out to seek a wife, and how they
[867] must behave towards a mother-in-law. To sit down by an evening
[584] fire next to an adult girl is tantamount to a marriage proposal, even if not a word is spoken. Under no circumstances may one
[606] look at the mother-in-law. They also practice animal dances in the bush, the kind that are performed by the men later at joyous celebrations, and also in times of distress. Finally, the young
[304] Bushman receives the tribal marking, a number of skin incisions on the cheek below the temple. Each tribe has a certain number of skin incisions. In order to make them stand out clearly even
[386] after healing, pulverized charcoal is put into the incisions. As a result, the tribal marking later looks like a black streak on the yellow skin.

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881 "There is nothing against applying another mark on the future huntsman during this celebration, namely, the hunting inoculation. This must be done by a man who has special powers and knowledge at his disposal. In order to sharpen the future hunter's eye for game generally and certain game in particular, it is necessary to make a deep incision between the eyes over the root of the nose, into which the practiced hand of the surgeon sprinkles a powder of dried and pulverized parts of all kinds of game.

"The inoculation may later be repeated several times if the hunter has no luck in hunting.

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884 "A person who has received the tribal marking is now regarded as a Bush 'man'; he can make his own bow and arrows, like those of the old people, and go hunting with them. Also, the way is now open for him to found a family."

582 It practically never happens that a Bushman remains

[31 cont.]

764 of the Bushmen are tied up in a crouched position and buried under termite hills.

"The corpse is usually lowered in such a way that it is received by a man standing in the grave. Aside from those who bring the corpse and dig the grave, no one goes to the interment. The corpse is buried either in a crouched posture or lying in a crouched position. In the case of the crouched posture, the face is eastward, and the elbows rest on the knees, while the hands are on either side of the head. In the case of the crouched position, the corpse is placed on the left side. The left hand is placed under the head, giving the appearance of a sleeping person. The face likewise looks toward the east.

766 [32] "Before their interment, feared men, such as sorcerers who had a malign influence and others who were feared in life, but not women, are firmly tied up with thongs of game hide in the crouched posture described above; then, in some cases, the spine is crushed with a stone or ax, as a result of which the head can be bent even lower and placed between the knees. Tied up in this fashion, they are thrown into a fissure in the earth, into an anteater's hole, or into a small cave."

8. The Hunt

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● 224
[621] It is well known that wherever the Bushmen live more or less undisturbed, each kin group has its precisely defined hunting territory. Vedder believes that the engravings of game tracks indicate old boundaries, as do the stone heaps which are usually designated as Heiseb graves. In any case the question arises as to who actually established these boundaries. My informants stated unanimously that the division stems from the time when the Bushmen still had a supreme chief. There seems to be some authority, however, even today, since in the bush veld the boundary lines are drawn with reference to certain trees, which, in general do not have too long a life. The Bushmen move back and forth within their hunting territories. It sometimes happens that a young hunter is not thoroughly familiar with the boundaries or that wounded game crosses the boundary. In this case the hunter must

[32 cont.]

224 go to the kin group to whom this territory belongs and take the
423 men to the animal. Then it will be carefully divided down the
middle; the hunter gets one half, and the owners get the other
half. Nevertheless, quarrels are common, because there is only
one of certain organs, such as the heart, liver, etc. These con-
[184] ditions, however, exist only among the eastern !Kung. A
Hei//om or a northern !Kung who is found hunting in the territory
224 of another tribe is regarded as an enemy. Boys' hunting is con-
[857] fined to lizards, tree rats, and other rodents. They ordinarily
[411] use the bird arrow, which is carved out of a piece of wood, but
in contrast to the Ovambo, the older boys here already have
[223] poisoned arrows. Young and old pursue the hunting of birds with
great enthusiasm; in particular guinea fowl, sand hens, grouse,
and the Pau [?] insofar as it occurs in this region. These fowl
[262] and small bushbucks are the chief sources of the meat in the
[136] native diet. The forest region of the eastern !Kung is poor in
large game. Zebras are almost entirely absent, as is the
wildebeest; the giraffe is very rare. The eland, kudu, hartebeest,
and especially the gemsbok are relatively more common. Hunt-
ing drives are organized to hunt the elephant or rhinoceros. First,
the elephant is separated from the herd. As soon as it has been
cornered, one Bushman after another springs forward and throws
his spear. It is also possible to hunt the elephant with poisoned
arrows; there is a number of thinner spots in the skin at the front
legs, and the marksman places as many arrows there as possible.
The elephant does not die; it merely becomes sick. The hunter
rushes home to get some other men, who then go to look for the
elephant with spears. Pitfalls are made in the vicinity of the
watering places, and a pointed pole is placed inside them. The
Bushmen along the Okovanggo also hunt the hippopotamus with
pitfalls. The eastern !Kung maintain that in ancient times the
hippopotamus was also found in their land. The sling trap is made
[223] in various sizes. The ostrich in particular is usually caught in
such sling traps, which are provided with a piece of bone bleached
by the sun. Small cats and the like are also caught with this trap.
It is likewise placed on the trails of the bushbuck. Jackals and
the like are caught by lying in wait for them as they come out of
their dens and then beating them to death with the kirri.

[32 cont.]

222 Termites are captured in two ways. During the night holes
are dug near the tall termite hills, and these holes are illuminated
with wooden torches. A hide is placed on the floor of the hole,
and soon so many termites are on it that the hide can be carried
home. The second method is used to catch those termites that
have no structures above ground, but have a network of corridors
running horizontally immediately below the surface. A hole is
dug deeper than the corridors, and the termites fall into it as
they run frightened back and forth on their [33] horizontal paths.
[821] This kind of termite serves as a weather prophet for the rain
[787] doctor, since they construct the most openings facing upward when
●224 a rainy year is in prospect. The lion was not hunted. In olden
262 times, only the old people ate the large game. The flesh of
predatory animals is forbidden to all children; on the other hand,
there is no prohibition against eating hare.

224 Naturally, the Bushmen are very anxious to have success in hunting. !Khu himself, the great captain, brings luck in hunting. He orders the supreme //Gauab (/Nawa) to direct the arrow. The doctors always pray to the great captain to send hunting luck, but there is no specific formula. They do this "quietly to themselves." An old prospector in Kalkfeld told me that he had seen the following among the !Kung Bushmen: "Before they go hunting, they draw the outline of the animal in the sand and with all kinds of ceremonies they shoot an arrow into the drawing. Where the figure is hit, the game will also be struck."

I shall now render fairly literally the course of a kudu hunt as it was described to me by a Bushman: "When I have found a kudu track, then we follow it very quietly and when we have found the place where the kudu ate, then one must be very careful. One person goes ahead, and the others follow. Now, when I see the kudu standing, I take out the poisoned arrow and shoot. Then I look to see what the kudu is doing or shoot once more; then I follow him to see whether the arrow will drop out; if the arrow falls out, I take it and see how deeply it penetrated into the kudu. Then I have to go back to the other hunters and state exactly how everything was. Then we go home. One should not run after the kudu, but must leave it alone. The person who

[33 cont.]

224 has done the shooting must go home immediately and may not
speak, eat, or drink, for if the hunter speaks with others, the kudu
will not be found for a long time, and if he drinks water, the
poison will become watery and will not be effective, and if he
eats, the kudu will remain quiet and the poison will not work ef-
fectively. The next morning very early we must set out on the
trail. The kudu is already dead. The people carry the meat home.
[782] Then it is put on the socha [sacred] fire. The //Gauab must be
given some of the meat. Whoever does not do this will be punished
by the //Gauab with serious illness, and the people will say: 'That
is just. The //Gauab has given him the game, why does he give
nothing for //Gauab?'" Here, therefore, a true primitial offering
is involved.

It is interesting that the Ogowe bury arrows in the sand at
various watering places, with the poisoned tip pointing upward;
they do this in shady spots that game animals like to use as resting
[202] places, and by certain signs, such as tying together blades of tall
grass and the like, they set up warnings (Von Zastrow and Vedder).

When a Bushman horde of today is able to hunt down half a dozen large antelopes in a year, it can consider itself lucky.

The porcupine is also commonly hunted, as are the scaly anteater and the fat aardvark, which is very common but difficult to catch. Monkeys are very rare; on the other hand, tree rats make a desirable addition to the diet. The ostrich is not uncommon in open terrain, and ostrich eggs are greatly coveted. Occasionally a boa constrictor, which tastes like a fat fish, or an iguana may round out the menu.

136 Among the animals which are in any way dangerous to
human beings, the lion should be mentioned in particular. They
occur in great numbers, but rarely stay in one place for a long
[165] period of time. A considerable number of Bushmen become their
262 victims, especially in the north. Lions, leopards, hyenas, and
jackals are neither hunted nor eaten; the same is true concerning
[753] birds of prey. Eating leopard meat produces fever and eczema,
[825] while eating the flesh of birds of prey produces temporary blindness
and symptoms of sickness similar to acute sausage poisoning.

Poisonous snakes are not eaten; they are much rarer here than in the stony regions of the central and southern areas, and they do not constitute a noteworthy danger.

[34 cont.]

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624 Concerning other water-containing trees, F. Seiner reports:

"The water-containing trees always have two or more trunks, and the source of the water is to be sought up where the branches fork. If the saddle formed where the branches separate shows a hole, a hollow area is traced in the adjoining part of the trunk, which may contain up to 60 liters of water. The water is obtained by tying, Bushman fashion, a small bundle of dry grass, or better still, a handkerchief, to the tip of a stick and inserting it in the hollow. When the stick is drawn out, the water drips from the saturated bundle or cloth, which is pressed out over a cup. [Fig. 2 appears here.]

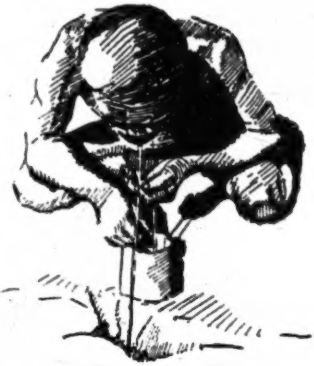

Fig. 1. !Kung at a Bushman Well.

[35] "The most important water roots are the Asclepiadacea Focked damarana Schltr. (ehoe), the Leguminosa

[532]
[224]

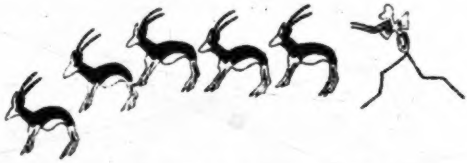

Fig. 2. //Gauab drives the game toward the hunters (from Kühn and Obermann, Buschmannkunst [Bushman Art]).
[113]

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[53 cont.]

821 rain comes down and the clouds extend over the whole world. The
rain that has come down to earth does not stay there; the clouds
776 again come forth from the earth. The rain obeys the great captain.
821 In a storm the great captain knocks down the trees. If a
person says something bad about him, however, punishment is
not long in coming. X'u says to the rain: "You must now go and
kill him." And the rain goes and kills the man with lightning.
But when the great captain says to the rain, "You must go now
and punish him," then the lightning merely strikes the windscreen
so that the whole thing collapses and the evildoer is thrown out.
[752] Then the people come running, rub the unconscious person with
medicine, and burn his skin with red-hot pieces of wood until he
comes to again.

Thus the angry great captain metes out punishment.

751 The Bushman concerned, however, is far from either privately
[782] or publicly begging the great captain for forgiveness. He
823 is convinced that this would do no good. On the contrary, he
821 puts his confidence in the following procedure: It is known that
where lightning strikes quartz sand, so-called lightning tubes or
fulgurites arise. This phenomenon has not remained hidden from
the sharp eye of the Bushmen. My friends told me: There where
lightning has struck one usually finds a stone called "rain tooth."
The person brushed by lightning scratches his skin with this stone,
[224] rubs in medicine which is supposed to bring luck in hunting, and
[777] tries to hunt down a gemsbok. If he succeeds, he cooks the meat
of the gemsbok with the rain tooth. If there is a second person
in the horde who has previously been brushed by lightning, that
person must eat the meat with him. Then medicine is made from
this meat and other ingredients, and this is placed in the horn of
a small bushbuck and carried around the neck by the person concerned.

751 When the "rain" comes again, he again goes to the hut
821 of the person struck, walks through the fire where the buck was
cooked, takes a bone of the buck (these bones remain lying on the
spot), and goes with it into the nearest tree. The bone cooks in
the tree, and the scum comes out on the side and the fat below.
When the rain has passed, the bone is again pulled out and
cooked with gemsbok horn and duiker horn and flesh; then it is

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[56 cont.]

695 not seen for the duration of the hunt, he is suspected of having
776 sneaked away. Then he swears by the great captain nuχu, and
all believe him.

776 Ordinarily, however, the great captain has everything
taken care of by the highest of the spirits and lesser spirits. The
chief concern of the Bushmen, therefore, is to stay in the good
graces of these spirits, but the great captain does offer protection
against all evil spirits, and for that reason people turn to him
[762] with the following prayers in case of severe illness and before the
start of a journey:

[57]

[539] χ'u, χ'u hűi mi, //kai tsao mi	Lord, Lord, help me, raise me.
to 'oba !khu !gaise ≠ani u mĩ	"the lord shall lead me well
/nāna /ge a	to the place,
!nore gana ti /ge a gana ti tsa	where I am going, and he shall
/Nane /ā mi tsu (1)	lead me back well, so that I
	come home safely."

1. Notation of the Dama interpreter.

[224] Before the hunt the doctors pray to the great captain for
hunting luck. There is no doubt that the Bushmen conceive of
this "great captain" as an all-powerful and at the same time
benign being. His executive organ, as has been noted, is the
highest of the Gauab. The latter is called "the Gauab" by the
common people, but he has a name known only by the doctors,
and saying it may have serious consequences. Since I finally
[123] had the honor to be regarded as an equal by the doctors, I learned
his name. He is called /Nawa. They were unable to give me
an interpretation of this name, but Miss Bleek, from dance songs
of the Angola Kung, reports the word /Nwa-se, supposedly an
abbreviation for Nwima-se = new moon. According to this, we
[174] might be able to see in this chief Gauab the high god of a lunar-
[771] mythological religion which has been superimposed as a foreign
element upon the primitive monotheism of the χ'u or Huwe faith.
As is always the case in such matters, the supreme being of the
invading religion has been transformed into a more or less evil
[171] principle. It also functions as such in the belief of the Nama and

!KUNG

[59 cont.]

20. Law

671 627 The norms of natural law among the Bushmen are the same as among us. The family head is at the same time the supreme judge. Since even the nearest kin group is regarded in a sense as a foreign state, however, the boundaries between law, war, and vengeance are exceedingly fluid. The domain of law, therefore, is actually confined to the family. Since the only [681] punishment that can be effectively inflicted is the death penalty, it is rarely applied among married men, [60] for the judges and executioners must provide for the condemned man's survivors. In olden times the women condemned to death were burned or beaten to death with the kirri, and the men were killed with the poisoned arrow.

423 The right to personal possession of utilitarian objects, honey, and certain types of veldkost is strictly respected. The soil is common property of the kin group, as is any big game ●[224] that is killed. If a wounded animal dies in the domain of the neighboring kin group, the hunter must go there and report it. [578] The dead prey must then be divided. Since, however, there are some unpaired organs, fighting and killing easily arise concerning them. [627] Blood vengeance is practiced, but can be resolved through negotiation.

423 614 "Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

[361] "There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 1,000 [sic] kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions, come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

769 614 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's territory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them. The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's

[63 cont.]
764 termite hills, sometimes in rock fissures, and commonly
[178] Betschuana [Tswana] style, in lateral niche graves. Besides food
and water, a man's weapons are put in the grave with him, and
for a woman, some ostrich eggs.

776 Now for the world view of the Masarwa. As Dornan reports,
777 Thora is the very great one who [64] is above all things. He sends
the rain and the game, veldkost and hunting luck. They commonly invoke Thora for luck on the hunt and thank him when they have had it (1).

[113] 1. P. Schebesta, "Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas [The Religious View of South Africa]," *Anthropos*, XVIII-XIX, 1923-24.

776
[224] Chapman reports that Bushmen who once had killed a
[782] rhinoceros sprinkled some dust on the animal's tail and eyes and
at the same time murmured words of thanks to Thora.

The Bushmen are not entirely clear as to whether Thora is
a spirit or not, in any case they have great respect for him. They
believe that Thora makes all things, but they do not know where
he lives or whether he is a person. The western tribes primarily
use the word Huwe. The Tati, however, also know this word and
regard Huwe as a good spirit who keeps away sickness, gives abundant food, and protects the Bushmen in times of danger. They call
[782] upon him when in need. The Sansoque say, *Huwe ka hume ie ie*
[539] (Huwe, come and help us). Huwe, however, seems to be weaker
than Thora and must turn to him for help. A Bushman song from
Thuli goes: *Tho-ra ba Hu-we ie ie* (Thora, come to the aid of
Huwe).

[171] Among many Bushman tribes and also among the Hottentot,
[174] an evil principle, "Khauna," is known, a concept that stems from
the times when the Bushmen and Hottentot were one people. The
[173] Kalahari Bushmen are not certain whether Thora or Khauna made
the first human beings.

825 Incidentally, the Kalahari Bushmen believe that men and animals can change their shapes; thus, for example, a person may appear as a leopard. In particular, springboks, baboons, and some snakes are regarded as human beings in another stage of their

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[75 cont.]

9. Hunting

224 Even today the western Kalahari has fairly abundant game, and life can be maintained at least to some extent by hunting. Before going to hunt, a tamana fruit (tse) is rubbed on the face. They also try to absorb the powers of the game by means of inoculation. For example, when a duiker has been killed, little pieces of the heart and ear are charred. This animal charcoal is then rubbed into an incision on the upper arm. Both in war and [202] hunting, people communicate by means of smoke signals. The chief hunting weapon [76] is the bow with the poisoned arrow. 278 The poison (1) is obtained from the cocoons of a beetle larva that

[113]

1. Lewin has devoted several studies to Bushman poisons ("Pfeilgifte der Buschmänner [Arrow Poisons of the Bushmen]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 44, 1912).

"When I was permitted to examine the first arrows armed with poison that Lichtenstein had brought home from his journey in the year 1806 and which are kept in the Museum for Ethnology here, I was able to establish that there is alkaloid in the poison, which initially had stimulating, and later paralyzing effects on spine and brain. Because of the small quantity of the material, nothing further could be determined, except for a curious color reaction that the alkaloid isolated from the poison produced with concentrated sulphuric acid.

"I have now succeeded in producing from the bulb of Haemanthus toxicarius, the 'poison bulb' of the old Dutch colonists, the most active ingredient, an alkaloid which chemically and toxically

NOGAU

411
283

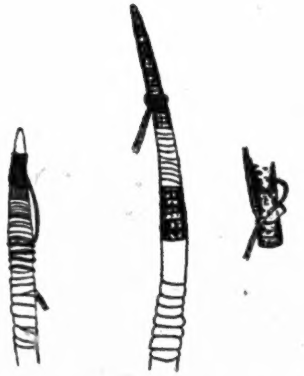

Fig. 28. Bows of the Nogau. (1/3 actual size [as shown in original text]).

● 224

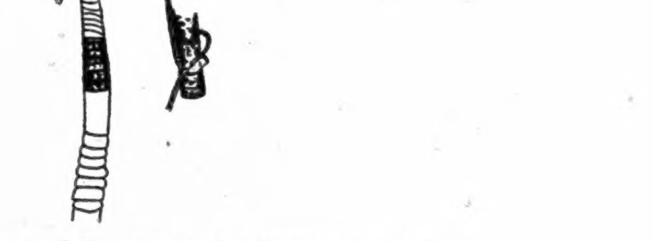

Fig. 29. Game Trap (from Gentz, Globus, Vol. 83, 1903).

[78 cont.]

000 it with the fingers. [Fig. 29 appears here.]

224 [79] The lion is neither eaten nor hunted. The jackal and
262 leopard are eaten, as is the liver of the latter. Baboons are not
825 eaten, because they were formerly Bushmen.

304 The line of tattooing between the eyebrows make people
302 into leopards among the Nogau. The Naron smear themselves with red and black color. The other incisions and tattooing are made purely for adornment.

825 Among the Naron, millepedes are regarded as creatures
756 of Hise, and only doctors may touch them and make medicine of them. Among the Nogau and ≠Auin there are magical bones
787 that are used to predict the future. The Naron also believe that
[172] the rock engravings stem from //gauwa.

Among the Auin it is forbidden to eat hyena flesh, and
262 likewise the flesh of the shabrack jackal because it is a dog.

The following important data supplied by Gentz (1) should be added:

"I have repeatedly found Bushman arrows on which the point, usually made of bone (for the most part ostrich bone), was made of wood. The game sling, reproduced in Figure 29, is constructed as follows: A strong string, four to five millimeters thick, which at one end terminates in a simple loop, is fastened at the other end to a flexible young tree or branch that is bent far over. A small, thinner string with a transverse stick is attached at the loop end. The string is placed around a small post driven into the ground at an angle, and it is prevented from slipping off by means of a flat piece of wood buried under the ground and planted against the free end of the transverse stick; the sling is placed in a circle on the ground over the flat piece of wood. The game, which follows its customary track to the

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224
[114]
[113]

1. "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften [Some Contributions to Knowledge of the Southwest African Tribes]," Globus, Vol. 83, 1903.

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAO

[79 cont.]

224 water or Brak (salt) place and is prevented from turning off the track by thorn branches placed on either side of the worn track, steps on the little stick lying just below the ground, which moves it out of position and releases the end of the little transverse stick. The string, having lost its hold, releases the bent tree, which snapping back, tightens the noose around the leg of the game and holds the animal imprisoned until the Bushman brutally kills it with a number of blows of his kirri, which is carved out of hard
223 wood. For various kinds of fowl, doves, etc., the Bushman prepares similar slings with thinner string, which are set up in the same way except that the sling is not placed on the ground but is held two or three centimeters above the ground by means of little sticks planted in a circle. In the center of the circle, on a little stick loosely covered with sand, there are a few maize kernels or berries. When the bird picks them up, he moves the little stick out of position and finds his neck in the sling. -- As household
415 implements among the Kalahari Bushmen, in addition to the hollow
237 ostrich eggs used to carry water, I found water sacks made from the inner peritoneum of an animal, not unlike a pig's bladder; these water sacks are closed with a short stick and leather string.
[312] The ostrich eggs also serve the Bushmen as artificial watering places in the dry stretches of the water-poor steppe regions, in which a number of them are hidden under the sand.

415 "Among the other household utensils of the Bushmen, I also found flat, wooden vessels, wooden mortars, and earthen pots of various sizes. The wooden vessels, which are completely different from those of the Herero, are, according to their own state-
[439] ments, obtained in trade from their northern neighbors. The earthen pots likewise are not made by the Bushmen themselves. In form they are somewhat reminiscent of the wooden Omeira pots of the Herero and, as a Herero half-breed declared and demon-
600 strated to me, are manufactured in the following manner. A lump of soft and thoroughly kneaded clay is spread out over the naked, moistened knee, so that first of all it assumes the form of the knee. The calf of the leg must be pressed to the thigh in order to obtain the correct shape. Then the clay is carefully taken off, and the shape of the vessel is improved and perfected by kneading it with the fingers. Finally simple decorations are scratched into it with a

!KUNG

224

1. !Kung. Setting a Trap.

2. Ostrich in the Trap (!Kung; Sand Veld).

Plate IX.

Heikum
Kung

/253 cont./

533 once in a while, one of the dancers emits a loud yell, usually in a high falsetto, and sometimes a trill which likewise is pitched as high as possible, depending entirely on the individual's emotional state.

The clapping at a dance is audible over a great distance. One evening when I approached the station, I could hear the clapping of the dancing women at a distance of three kilometers.

The dances I have described seem to be widely distributed
535 among the Bushmen. At any rate, I found all three of them with
194 only slight variations among the Kung people residing in the Kaukau Veld.

Concerning the diet of the Heikum Bushmen I was able to dis-
262 cover the following. I should add my regret at this point that I lacked the necessary background for giving the botanical names of the veld crops.

The diet is predominantly vegetable; however, the Bushman is by no means a despiser of flesh. On the contrary, whenever he can have animal food, he will utilize it for his kitchen. In so doing, he is so unselective that one could say he eats everything he can lay his hands on. I have even seen Bushmen consume hyena flesh with great pleasure. The flesh is obtained partly by
224 hunting with bow and arrow, and partly with game traps. I shall discuss the hunting weapons later; here I only want to mention a game snare which I had the opportunity to observe in the Kaukau Veld. A snare twisted from plant bast had been placed on a game trail, drawn upwards by means of a flexible stalk stuck into the ground, and fastened to the ground by means of wooden hooks. When the game touches the snare, releasing it from the hooks, the flexible stalk pulls the snare up and shut. Game is also caught in traps. I was shown an iron hook fastened to a bamboo stick about five meters long, which was used to pull out game that had fallen into the pits.

The animals of the Bushman's hunting domain include all kinds of antelopes, from the giant eland to the tiny duiker, giraffes, hogs, hares, and, in the way of birds, predominantly guinea fowl.

The Bushman, however, finds objects to enrich his cuisine even among lower animals. In the realm of the amphibians he prefers

/253 cont./

224 the large bullfrog, whose bass voice resounds in all the puddles during the rainy season. The flesh of the frog is boiled with the 252 skin and bones, pounded to a paste in wooden vessels, and then eaten. Among the insects, grasshoppers and termites are used for 222 food. Both are roasted. In the brief time that they are winged, the termites are lured in such great numbers to a fire maintained for the purpose of catching them that it is an easy matter for the Bushman to collect a rich booty in a few hours. A special delicacy in the Bushman household is wild honey, which, as I was able to ascertain, is extremely tasty /254/ and is to be found in quantity on the Omuramba omatako as well as in the Kaukau Veld.

825 The bullfrog is called ntchei by the Bushmen (Herero: otjisume), the termite, /ui (Herero: othohumboli).

The vegetable diet naturally changes with the seasons and is 262 quite varied. I shall attempt to give a brief survey, though at 824 the same time I am aware that it can lay no claim to completeness.

1. The chamá or taba (Herero: omatanga). These are the roasted kernels of the Kaffir pumpkin [melon?], widely known here, which produce quite a tasty dish.

2. The //üni (Herero: omarunga); this is the Heikum Bushman name for the palm tree that is common in this region. The edible parts of the tree are the apple-sized fruit, whose skin has a sweetish taste reminiscent of St. John's bread, and the soft interior of the trunk. The latter is a whitish, soft, fibrous pulp, which the Bush- [252] men prepare by cooking and pounding.

3. A species of white mushroom called naû by the Bushmen, majova by the Herero. The mushroom grows during the rainy season especially along the edges of termite hills; the diameter of its cap reaches about 20 centimeters. It is eaten raw as well as [252] boiled. I do not know whether it is true that excessive eating of this mushroom has a detrimental effect on mental activity, as the Herero aver – ejova, plural majova, is the Herero word for stupid.

4. The unki, a well-known species of onion, about the size of a hazel nut, called //au by the Bushmen, is very common and forms an important part of the kitchen provisions, not only among the Bushmen, but also among the Herero.

[252] 5. The //guitcha of the Bushmen, ussessenga of the Herero,

/255 cont./

The hair is removed from the hides. After the skinning, the 281 hides are stretched out on the ground for two days, exposed to the sun; then the hair is removed, and subsequently the juice of a red tuber is rubbed into the hides on the inside. After they have been prepared in this manner, they are buried in the ground for a longer period of time and are then ready for use.

Not infrequently the Bushmen wear sandals which they cut 291 from antelope hide in the simplest manner imaginable. A leather sole is fastened with three thongs to a leather ring lying over the instep and drawn tight below the ankle. One thong runs between the first and the second toe, while the two others run inside and outside the foot.

The children go about quite naked. Despite this sparseness 301 of clothing, the feeling for ornamentation finds full expression.

Many ornamental objects serve as amulets which are worn for a great variety of purposes. The women are more richly adorned than the men. Whereas the latter frequently content themselves with arm rings made of antelope leather, the women are usually overloaded with ornamental objects. One of the favorite women's ornaments is a necklace made of ostrich egg shells. The shells [321] are worked into small, approximately penny-sized circular disks which are pierced in the middle and strung on a leather thong. Arm and leg rings are made of the same materials.

In place of the little ostrich egg disks, colored glass beads [439] obtained in trade are frequently used for necklaces and arm rings. One sees many a woman walking along with a tortoise-shell box hanging on her chest, /256/ which is decorated with bead-studded leather strips and used as a container for tobacco.

Pierced pieces of root, distinguished by natural rings notched at regular intervals, are strung on leather thongs for necklaces.

● 224 I found the following ornamental objects which simultaneously
301 served the function of an amulet:

1. Little pieces of dried antelope flesh are worn on the chest in the belief that the wearer will not lack meat to eat so long as he wears these guarantees.

2. The same significance is attached to dried antelope ears which are worn in a small leather bag on the chest.

/256 cont./

224 301 828 3. A piece of root wood, called /un /gei, is pierced and worn on a bast string on the chest. This little piece of root has its distinctive story. When the Bushmen are hunting and want a clear eye to see game, they scrape a bit off its surface and rub the powdery scrapings between the eyes and from there upward across the middle of the forehead to the hairline. They believe that they can increase their keenness of vision by this procedure. An experiment that I made with the powder produced no change on the skin that was treated and naturally did not have any visible effect on my keenness of vision.

301 787 4. Little wooden sticks which are used as oracular instruments, especially by the Kung people of the Kaukau Veld.

These are four wooden sticks which are strung on a string and worn on the chest. They are about as long as a finger and about two centimeters wide. Two of them are about as thick as a finger; the two others are only a few millimeters thick. One end of the sticks is cut off smooth, and the other pointed. These four sticks are questioned for all imaginable purposes. If the Bushman wants to know where game is, where he is to expect an enemy, or which route he is to take, he asks his sticks. He does so in the following manner. He spreads a piece of leather in front of him and crouches on the ground. Then he places all four sticks parallel and on top of one another in his left hand, the back of the hand being turned toward the ground. With a sudden jerk, accompanied by clicking the tongue, he throws the little sticks on the cloth; naturally, the sticks are scattered with their tips pointing in various directions. Depending on the matter at hand, each little stick signifies something special. When I had a Bushman captain in the Kaukau Veld consult his oracle concerning the fate of our patrol, one of the thick sticks in this throw signified the oxcart that accompanied the patrol. A lively argument concerning the significance of the sticks in a given case frequently arises between the consulter of the oracle and the spectator; finally, the view of the more respected of the two apparently wins out.

184 291 301 /257/ The clothing of the Kung people in the Kaukau Veld is essentially the same as that of the Heikum on the Omuramba ua omatako; even the ornaments do not show any great differences. Nevertheless, I was struck by certain peculiarities of the Kaukau people that I did not find among the Heikum.

FOREWORD.

×137 The Kalahari is not a sandy desert in the sense that it is devoid of
312 vegetation; it is the absence of surface water which makes the region such
a hazard to human habitation. It is the last refuge of the Bushman.
151 Primitive though he is, he survived in this inhospitable environment
owing to his acute powers of perception and his fine appreciation of the
224 gifts of nature. He is a skilled hunter with his bow and arrow and has an
823 intimate knowledge of the natural resources of food and water. Dr. Story
124 compliments him by saying that his knowledge was usually imparted
cheerfully and with humour and "always with intelligence".

121 The Division of Botany was grateful to accept the invitation for Dr. Story to accompany the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody expedition of 1955. This was the fifth expedition of its kind and had as its objective the further documentation of the way of life of the Bushman. Dr. Story's assignment was to investigate the plants used by them in obtaining food and water.

It is inevitable that, with the advance of civilisation, the remnants of this interesting race will lose its intimate contact with nature and in the end its very identity. Wishing to complete their records before this happens the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody organisation, is, as we go to press, returning on yet another expedition. The Division of Botany is glad of this opportunity to continue the collection of data on the plants of economic importance to the Bushmen in the Kalahari.

The balance in nature between supply and demand is of endless interest to the ecologist. In times of plenty—when vegetation is abundant—the animal population increases: in times of poverty—when the vegetation is reduced by the prevailing climatic conditions—the animal population is reduced by the effects of hunger and thirst. So it is with the primitive human, who is dependent for his survival on the animal and plant life which surrounds him. Overpopulation at any time spells destruction for him at a later date. It is obvious too, that primitive man must have had a strong influence on the distribution and density of edible wild plants. Some will have become more widespread and others less numerous. More
×[137] and more examples of rare species among the tuberous rooted *Asclepiadaceae* have come to light during the botanical exploration of southern Africa. It is felt that the edibility of these and some other tuberous rooted plants, in a large measure, accounts for their sparse distribution.

Dr. Story's observations support this view, and many other interesting facts are recorded in his preliminary report on the vegetable aspect of the Bushman's diet.

R. A. Dyer,
Chief: Division of Botany and
Director of Botanical Survey.

Pretoria,
October, 1957.

are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women 222
to the *||gāus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in
front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills
four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each
woman and places them under the *!heis*. Her husband now
kindles the *!hei|ais* and, after having applied *‡norab* and
dabas to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a
handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free
and both men and women may eat it. There is no name for
this ceremony, but the first fruit is called *!gao-ei-|un*.

Among insects, locusts, ants, scorpions, young bees and 262
honey are greatly relished. Frogs, lizards, snakes, etc., are
also eaten. In fact, all living animals are eaten with the
exception of the mole and the hyena, the former because its
winter larder of öintjes forms a valuable and easily obtainable
addition to the supplies of the Bushmen and the latter because
it eats human corpses.

The methods used in the pursuit of game vary according 221
to the season, the year being divided into a cold, dry season 224
(winter), a hot, dry season (spring and early summer), a
small, rainy season (September and October) and a big, rainy
season (January to April). Snaring is resorted to only during
the dry season in the case of such animals as guineafowl,
bustard, aardvark, ostrich and small game. Pitfalls are not
made use of except for hare and springhare as too much
work is entailed in making them. Springhare and snakes
are also caught by means of a long barbed stick which is
passed into the burrows, the animal being transfixed and then
dug out. During the big rainy season when the ground is
sodden with moisture small buck such as duiker and steenbuck
are run down on foot and killed with a knob kirri. This
method is not applicable to small game during the dry season
owing to the difficulty in following the spoor. In the hot
weather, however, young buck are easily caught in this
manner as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. The
gemsbuck does not tire easily. It is run down, therefore,
only during the big rainy season when the soft ground impedes
its progress and causes it to be caught comparatively easily.
All other varieties of big game are run down in the hot, dry
season. After a herd of game has been located one or more
men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued
relentlessly until it is exhausted and brought at bay, when it
is killed with assegaai.

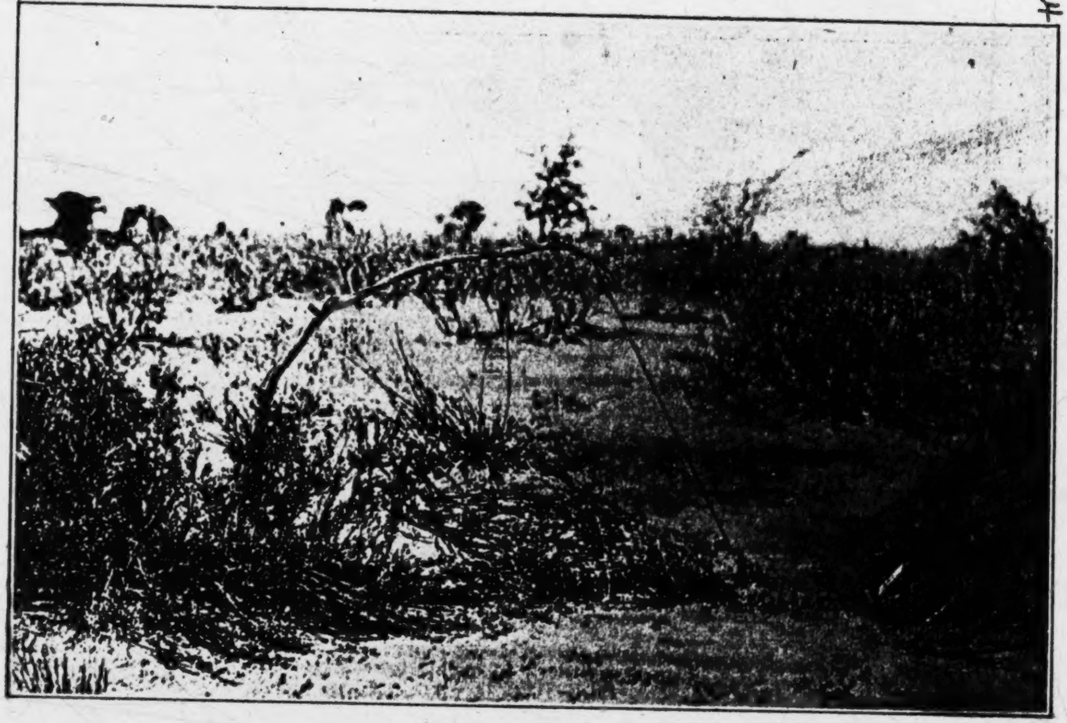
Bow and poisoned arrows are used all the year round. These 184
weapons differ considerably in character in various localities. 411
The Kalahari bow is small compared with that used by the
!Kūng of the Oschimpoloveld, and *Hei-||om* of the Etosha
Pan region; the arrow consists of a reed shaft, bone foreshaft
and bone or iron tip, whereas the latter use arrows with
feathered wooden shafts and iron tips only. The poison also 184
varies in different localities. In southern Namaqualand it 278
is constituted of a mixture of plant juice (euphorbia), snake
poison, scorpions and spiders; in the southern and central

184 Kalahari only insect poison is used, and further north and
278 north-west only plant poison.

224 All tribes observe certain customary practices in connection
[184] with the hunting of animals with bow and arrow. These
vary considerably among the different tribes. The following
is an account of the practice as met with among the *Hei-//om*.
After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter
until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the
//gãus (camp). The following morning the whole community
takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's
tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night
by other animals. The searchers spread out on a wide front
and keep a very sharp lookout for the presence of vultures.
After the carcass has been found it is skinned by the men.
252 The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and
cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the
blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after
this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the
men. The skin, if suitable for the purpose, is cut into
[237] sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is then
removed to the *//gãus* by the men who may occasionally be
assisted by the women. On arrival at the *//gãus* all the meat
is laid on the ground under the *!heis* either on sticks which
were used in carrying it or on branches. The *gei-khoib*
224 (chief) now comes forward and if he finds that the *!hei-/ais*
622 (fire under the tree) has gone out he returns to his hut, brings
252 fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is absent when the meat
is brought in he is immediately sent for, the meat in the
meantime being hung on the *!heis* (tree in centre of camp).
After having kindled the fire the *gei-khoib* instructs one of
the men—the one who has shot the animal is excluded from
doing any work—to open the bones and collect the marrow.
The blood and the marrow are placed on the fire in separate
pots and at the same time some of the meat for the men is
also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for eating the
gei-khoib removes a piece from the pot and "tastes"
(tsũ-tsũ) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth
and fingers and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The
meat is now safe for the members of his group to eat. The
cooked meat is then pounded with a stone, teased between
the fingers and thrown into the pot containing the blood.
The melted marrow is next stirred into the mixture of blood
and meat. The resulting dish is known as *‡koms*.

224 All meat killed with bow and arrow is *soxa* and may not
262 be partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gei-khoib*. The
liver, however, is eaten by the men immediately after the
animal has been cut up and is thus excluded from the scope
of the *soxa* as far as men are concerned, but to the women it
is *soxa*. All parts of the animal are eaten, but certain
categories of people may eat only certain prescribed portions
of the animal, the rest of the meat being *soxa* to them. For
example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is
entitled to the superficial covering of meat and fat of the

224



Snare for Small Game.

[FACING p. 101]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

hind quarters, the entrails and the trotters (*‡ei-ti*). Her 224 262 portion is known as the *‡noe-di* and is the only meat which may be partaken of by women. The *‡noe-di* is shared by her with the other women, including the *‡kham-khoidi* (adolescent girls) and with the young children. The *‡noe-di*, however, may not be eaten until the *gei-khoib* has tasted the meat. It is cut on the spot where the carcass was found by the person who shot the animal and handed over to the latter's wife after arrival at the *//gāus*. It is not brought under the *!heis*. It is cooked by the wife of the hunter on the fire in front of her hut after which the other women come and get their portions and eat it in their own huts. The *‡kham-khoidi* obtain their meat from their respective mothers, as also do young children still living with their parents. If women [784] partake of any other meat than the *‡noe-di*, the poison of the arrow will not act when an animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu* (youths) is known as *!om-//gani* and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles, etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at the *axarogudi ‡gaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the *!heis* [252] or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *soxa* to him and if he [784] eats any other part, *e.g.*, the *‡koms* he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions about two finger breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis* may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* receives her share from the *‡noe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-//gani*, under which is included the *‡koms*. The latter may be eaten only under the *!heis*. After it has [264] been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is [841] menstruating will, however, not partake of the *‡koms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib* and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat 224 622 killed by the members of an outlying *//gāus*, the *gei-khoib* likewise having to taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the *//gāus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *//gāus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he

224 visits a *//gãus* for this purpose he kindles the *!hei-/ais*
622 with fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the
meat, returns to his own.

224 Any want of success in the chase is generally attributed to
777 some chance incident. For example, a man, who has had
bad luck in hunting while his wife had her periods, will not
hunt again when she is in that condition nor will she eat
any of the *≠noe-di* at such times. The meat of an animal
262 killed by a dog may not be eaten by women or by any men
whose wives are menstruating. This prohibition is to prevent
bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. If,
however, an animal is killed with bow and arrow after having
been brought at bay by a dog, the meat is *soxa* and women
may eat the *≠noe-di*. The remains of an animal killed by a
lion are not *soxa* and may be partaken of by all individuals.
Care, however, is taken not to offend the lion which likewise
observes certain practices after each kill. After having had
his fill he buries the sacrum and haunchbones and covers
them over with the dung (stomach contents) of the animal.
If he should be unsuccessful in hunting his prey he returns
to the spot of the last kill, digs up the buried parts and inters
them in another place. This he does to restore his luck and
if he should find that the bones have been taken away he will
follow the person who removed them right into the *//gãus*.
184 *Soxa* applies only to meat killed with bow and arrow and
224 as far as is known at present this practice exists among the
262 *Xom-khoin*, */Koma-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin*. Among these
784 groups the meat of the following animals is *soxa*, namely,
steinbuck, duiker, springbuck, hartebeest, gemsbuck, kudu,
wildebeest and giraffe. The eland, which is a comparatively
rare visitor to the parts occupied by these groups is not killed
at all by the *Xom-khoin* who believe that harm will befall
any person who eats its meat. In other words the *Xom-khoin* consider the eland to be absolute *soxa*. Among other
groups the man who shoots an eland must, on returning to
the *//gãus*, sleep under the *!heis* as intercourse with his wife
will prevent the poison from killing the animal. The same
applies to a person who shoots a giraffe.

412 The implements and utensils which are used in the collection
and preparation of food are very few in number. Vegetable
food is dug up with a sharpened stick, 2 to 5 feet in length.
252 Uintjes, *//noun* and other similar plant foods are roasted in
hot ashes covered with cinders. Ants (Bushman rice) are dealt
with in a similar manner and then recovered again by means
of a sieve of grass matting. Locusts are either roasted or
boiled. Frogs, etc., are sometimes roasted over the fire on a
wooden spit (braaistok) stuck into the ground. Birds, snakes,
small antelope, etc., are prepared by placing them in a hollow
made in the ashes with a flat paddle-shaped wooden scoop and
covering them over with live coals. The meat of larger

The Bushmen are one of the most primitive peoples living 105
on earth. Although most of their groups own some metal objects,
Bushmen do not smelt or forge metal, but get it in trade [325
from their Bantu neighbors. They use soft metal in the making 439]
of a few tools such as knives, arrowheads, and little axes,
cold-hammering the metal into shape themselves. Bushmen
make the other tools they use from wood and bone, grass and
fiber, the things of the veld. They dig roots and pick berries [222]
to eat because they have no crops. The desert is too dry for
anything but desert plants to grow naturally, and Bushmen,
who quickly consume all the wild food available in one place,
cannot stay anywhere long enough to tend crops or wait for
them to grow.

There is not enough water to water livestock, and for this [231]
reason Bushmen have no domestic animals. Most of their
groups do not even have dogs. Instead of herding, Bushmen
hunt wild antelope with tiny arrows, sometimes made of soft, [224
traded metal, sometimes made of bone, and poisoned with a 278]
terrible poison extracted from a certain grub, a poison which
affects the nervous system of a creature and which is so deadly
that an antelope shot early in the morning with a single arrow
well placed in the body dies within the day. Hunting is very
difficult, for travel in the veld is thirsty and rigorous and the
antelope are clever, but as often as not the Bushmen hunters
shoot one and then they use it all. Most of the meat is dried [251]
to preserve it, causing it to last at least a few weeks, but
sooner or later every last bite of it is eaten, even the mucous
lining of the nostrils and the gristle inside the ears. They [262]
sometimes eat the hide, sometimes work it into leather to
use for clothing, and if the antelope bones are not all [281]
cracked for the marrow, pieces are worked into arrow points
to shoot another antelope.

In order to live as they do, Bushmen must travel through 105 361

thing for him. She was his daughter, so she was glad to do it, [888]
but my sister and I thought he was just an old man who sat 159
and coughed and spit. He didn't like the Europeans or the 563
black people either, and my father didn't either, and that is why we lived on the other side of the police zone. On one side were the police boys with camels—that was in the old days with the camel patrol [2]—and on the other side the lions and the Bushmen asked for your pass.

"One day my father went hunting and he was gone two [224]
days. Then my sister said: 'He must have shot a giraffe.' A giraffe is royal game, you know, and you can go to jail if you kill one, only my father didn't know it then.

"Yes, and that day two police boys came on camels and a 159
white man on a camel. The police boys had a rifle and the 563
white policeman had a rifle and a little gun in his hand. They 625
had a Nurigaas Bushman walking with them, but he didn't come near us because he was ashamed. One police boy spoke the language of the Bushmen, and he said: 'Where is the old man who lives here?' and my mother pointed to my grandfather and she said: 'This is the one,' but the police boy said: 'Not that one, I want your husband. Where is he?' 'I don't know,' said my mother, but the police boy said: 'How can an old woman like you lie to me?' and my mother just covered up her face and said nothing. Then the police boy and the Nurigaas Bushman found my father's spoor off in the veld, and they all followed him with the police boy and the Nurigaas Bushman walking and the white man and the other police boy on the camels. Next morning they came back with my father, they had his hands tied behind and a rope around his neck and he was running behind the camel. His face was

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[2] Until quite recently, the police who had occasion to go into the desert rode on camels because camels could endure desert conditions far better than horses, and could go through soft sand where trucks could not.

could have found his shallow pit at any time of the day or 361 429
night.

Nobody was there; everyone had run away. We sat down 609
and waited while Gai put his hands to his mouth and shouted, trying to summon the people back again. When nobody came or even answered him, he flung his pipe to the ground and marched off to find them among the bushes, alternately shouting to his hidden relatives and muttering to himself, for they might be far away and the day was getting warm.

We sat in the middle ground between the depressions so 361
that we wouldn't risk stepping on or crushing anybody's hidden things, for, without knowing it, a European can in a moment trample through a Bushman's cache, breaking the delicate bone or wooden objects, bending the reed arrows, or crushing eggshell beads. Also, among certain groups of [342
Bushmen, every fire has a man's side and a woman's side, 592]
determined by the position of the fire as you face the doorway of the scherm, the man's side being on the right, the woman's
on the left. If a man sits on the woman's side, or where a [778
woman has been sitting, he will become impotent and will 842
also lose his power to hunt, and if a woman sits where a man 753
has been sitting, she will get a disease in her vagina. Some- 224
thing intangible, invisible, but dangerously powerful, remains 562 784]
on the ground. We did not know which side was which of this werf's fires, or even for sure where the fires were; we did not even know that the Gikwe had this custom, for we had learned it from Kung Bushmen, but we knew that if they did they would not welcome our contaminating their ground. We would have liked to look around, but the best thing we could do was to keep our big boots and our bodies away from their delicate, fragile, almost invisible community.

142 621 The third old woman was Ukwane's wife, and her name was Kutera. She was the oldest of the four women by many years, and much the frailest; her arms and legs were spindly, and she was so thin that her slender bones stuck out. She moved slowly, feebly, and spoke in a high, thin voice like the piping of a little bird. She didn't even have the big belly that Bushmen usually have; instead, her belly clung to her backbone and she looked like a little, dry bird skeleton, ready to splinter or be blown away.

The other members of the group were the three young boys. One, Giamakwe, about eleven years old, was the son of Ukwane's old age, and the other two, Wite and Witabe, about ten and fourteen, were the sons of Twikwe and the man who ran away. All were extremely thin, with arms and legs like matchsticks, and each wore a tiny rag of a loincloth that had been cast off by someone else and cut down to their sizes—just tokens of modesty, as the boys were not covered 857 621 up at all. But they were very gay and active; their shyness of us vanished immediately and was replaced by excitement; they whirled and spun like dervishes when they saw the gemsbok, played leapfrog, jounced each other, and ran circles around the werf, followed by the baby, Nhwakwe, who chased them like a puppy and could not keep up. He would tire from time to time, fall into his mother's lap to nurse, and then, refreshed, would rush headlong after the three boys again. He never did catch them, but this did not make him angry or make him cry.

● 224 When everyone was present, looking hungrily at the gemsbok on the jeep with a swarm of redheaded flies already at its mouth, Gai and Ukwane got their knives and rolled the gemsbok to the ground. She fell with a hard bounce, a thump as her legs or her long horns struck, and a huff as gas rushed from her open mouth. She lay stiffly, looking awkward with

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959

FX10 Bushmen FX10

GiKwe

her hind leg raised, looking wild with her cocoa-colored mane 224
that stood stiff and straight along the bowed crest of her neck, wild with her great horns sharp enough to prick your finger, and her pale, half-open eyes.

Gai squatted beside her and began to stroke her udder. He 224-272
squeezed a teat and milk squirted into his palm, and as he licked it off, Ukwane squatted beside him. The gemsbok was big enough for both men to squat at her udder milking, Ukwane under her lifted thigh. I was told that when the men had first followed her, they had come upon a gemsbok calf wedged high up in the fork of a tree. A leopard had killed it and left it there, and as the men tried to climb the tree to pull it down, robbing the leopard, the mother gemsbok had reappeared and challenged them, so they had killed her instead. That is why her udder was filled with milk. Her beige hide, we noticed, had been raked by the leopard's claws.

Almost everyone came by with a palm outstretched for a squirt of milk. Ukwane called for me to come, too, and, stroking the milk veins in her udder the way one does when milking a cow, he milked a white stream into my palm which I licked away. The milk was strong and rank and gamy, not at all like the mild, sweet-tasting milk of cows. It smelled like the intestines, too, perhaps because the animal was dead, perhaps because the odor of intestines and the milk both came from the strong, harsh grass of the country. Yet it was liquid, and the Bushmen milked her dry.

Afterward, Gai and Ukwane butchered her, Gai preparing 224-237
himself by casually sharpening his knife on her narrow, heart-shaped hoof. Always working so that her wounded side was up, they cut her skin free, not spilling a drop of blood. Near the carcass they dug a shallow pit, which they lined with the skin, hair side down, and as blood would well up into the cuts they made butchering, they would collect it and place it in

224 237 this bowl. The carcass itself, now red and pink and white, they rolled onto a bed of leaves and branches to keep it clean and cut off the front and hind legs of the upper side, forming a bowl of the carcass so that no liquid would escape. They pulled out the intestine, cleaning each length carefully, first squeezing out all fecal matter, then turning the intestine inside out over a stick and scraping it clean. A lot of liquid ran from the intestines, which was saved with the blood in the bowl of the body.

224 237 272 Next, the two men removed the rumen, the first stomach of ruminant animals, where the grass they bolt hurriedly is kept in quantities to be coughed up and chewed thoroughly when the animal is lying in the shade. Ukwane lifted the rumen out carefully, like a great water sack that might burst suddenly, and hurried with it to the pit lined with the skin. There he slit it and water gushed out, every drop saved by the skin. Ukwane and Gai removed handfuls of the contents, a yellow, pulpy mass of partially digested grass, and they squeezed each handful dry into bowls, tsama-melon rinds, and ostrich-egg water-containers that the women had brought forward. They did not mind two great white worms that were discovered living in the rumen, for as soon as enough water was collected, the people all had a long, satisfying drink. Some was pressed on me by Tsetchwe; I could not bring myself to drink it, but I did taste it and found that it was not too unpleasant, although it also tasted strongly as intestines smell. It was fresh, however, it was only the liquid from grass, and I thought that if I had no other water I too could drink the water of rumen.

Also, the people drank the blood, scooping it out in handfuls to their faces. Soon they were stained with it; the three old women looked very savage, and Gishe, our interpreter,

asked Ukwane for some, which Ukwane gave him. Gishe said: 224
"I have been living among Europeans for a long time, but I 237 272
remember now who I am."

From the body of that gemsbok the Bushmen bailed out 251
several bucketfuls of liquid, enough to supply them for almost
a week. They cut the meat into strips which they would dry
in the sun and use as they needed them, also enough for a
week or perhaps even longer, as there were only a few people
and the gemsbok was almost as big as a cow.

Tsetchwe had built a tiny fire beneath a tsama melon, an 252
empty melon with the top cut away, and when she received [224
her share of the meat—for any animal is divided at once by a 422]
rigid system of rules, some meat given to each person rather
than kept as a communal supply or portioned to families—
she cut a small piece and stuffed it into the melon, where
melon juice, heated through the rind, was boiling now. It
cooked like meat in a stew, and when it was done Tsetchwe
emptied the melon into a bowl, fanned it to cool it, and then 264
ate some, putting a strip of meat into her mouth and hacking
off a bite with her husband's knife. She was ravenously
hungry and she ate almost all, while her baby, lying in her [853]
lap, nursed from her breast. The last piece she saved for him;
she put one end of it into his mouth and, as he bit down,
flashed the great knife under his nose to cut him a small
enough morsel.

The gemsbok had vanished. All that remained from the 224
butchering was the pile of squeezed, dry grass from the rumen 422
and a few lumps of feces that the redheaded flies buzzed
over. The meat, bones, head, hide, and brushlike tail all now [237]
belonged to people, and all the people had carried their portions
away. Gai owned two hind legs and a front leg, Tsetchwe
had meat from the back, Ukwane had the other front

GiKwe

224-422 leg, his wife had one of the feet and the stomach, the young boys had lengths of intestine. Twikwe had received the head and Dasina the udder.

It seems very unequal when you watch Bushmen divide a kill, yet it is their system, and in the end no person eats more than any other. That day Ukwane gave Gai still another piece because Gai was his relation, Gai gave meat to Dasina because she was his wife's mother. After the meat had been divided again in this way and cooked, the cooked food was shared. No one, of course, contested Gai's large share, because he had been the hunter and by their law that much belonged to him. No one doubted that he would share his large amount with others, and they were not wrong, of course; he did. It is not the amount eaten by any person but the formal ownership of every part that matters to Bushmen.

It was already evening and the sun sat on the flat veld like an enormous, flaming mountain. It sank, and its orange color was echoed in the three families' fires as the people warmed themselves and cooked their meat.

224-857 The following day the three young boys, feeling vigorous with all the meat they had eaten, went out to play in the veld and came back at noon with a tortoise, a lizard, and a tiny rabbit, a baby one that they had been able to run down. The young boys would have had to divide any substantial game with the adults, but since these animals were so small the boys were allowed to keep them. Small animals are divided among the children and cooked for them by one of their parents.

Wite carried in the rabbit, still alive, across his shoulders, pretending that it was very heavy and that he was tired and worn, as though he were a hunter carrying home a buck. When he threw the rabbit down, a soft ball of gray fur with

the innocent eyes of a baby and pretty, drop-shaped ears that 224
857
were pink inside, it rushed at him and bit his finger. A dire fate awaited it; Ukwane caught it and pinched its throat.

The tortoise was given to Nhwakwe, the baby, as the spoils of a hunt are always shared, and Gai, his father, took it to 252
roast it for him.

First, Gai scooped a shallow pit in the sand in front of his sleeping-place, which he filled with burning sticks. Beside him, old Twikwe held the tortoise on its back, but the tortoise urinated brown urine and Twikwe let it stand up. It stood looking at the flames, blinking its hard black eyes, then started to walk away. But Twikwe caught it again and held it, idly turning it over and over while she talked with Gai about other things, about smoke they had noticed on the southern horizon which Gai said was Bushmen's smoke. Gai said he planned to go to see the people some day soon, and as he spoke he took the tortoise from Twikwe and laid it on its back, where it rested with its feet out and its neck bent, in the position that would be correct, if it were standing. Gai took a burning stick from the fire and set it against the tortoise's belly. The tortoise kicked violently and jerked its head, urinating profuse amounts of the brown urine which ran over Gai's hand, but the heat had its effect, the two hard, central plates on the shell of the belly peeled back, and Gai thrust his hand inside. The smoldering shell reeked and the tortoise struggled violently, but Gai slit the belly with his knife and pulled out the intestine.

The tortoise by now had retreated part way into its shell, trying to hide there, gazing out from between its front knees. Gai reached the heart, which was still beating, and flipped it onto the ground, where it jerked violently for a moment, almost jumping, then relaxed to a more spasmodic beating, all by itself and dusty, now ignored. Gai pinched the gall away ashes and little black, charred thorn bushes, but the flames had not touched the leaves on the trees. These remained yellow-green, orange, and silver, tangled and confused above the black, breaking away from the branches when the wind blew and falling like autumn leaves in New England. The whole valley would have been very like New England except that there were leopards in the forest; as we looked around we found a leopard's tracks. We rested in the shade on the side of the valley, and as we sat quietly we heard the sound of hoofs in the valley below, and we saw through the bushes the dark backs of a herd of wildebeest, walking along in single file, first the cows, then the larger bulls, their curved cow horns making them look for all the world like a herd of small, dark cattle. 137 224

Gai was on his feet in an instant, his bow in his hand, and, like a leopard springing, he jumped past us and ran, silent and half crouching, through the bushes beside them, but he had no arrow, and when he got near enough to shoot he had to stand up and shoot a grass blade after them, partly for practice, as a Bushman hunter will never miss a chance to practice his aim, but partly because Gai was still too young to be able to resist making them run. They threw up their heads, snorting like horses, and galloped away, leaving behind them a great cloud of dust. Gai ran after, his heels pounding, and was gone in a few great perfect strides, as if a hawk had left us with a few stiff beats of its wings. [481]

Witabe, too, was completely absorbed. Although he did not run after the wildebeests, he got to his feet and gazed after them, unconsciously making a gesture with his hand representing the head and horns of a wildebeest. He moved his hand in time with their running, saying softly: "Huh, huh, boo. Huh, huh, boo," the sound of their breath and grunting as they ran.

609 same age, yet we learned later that it was so. We asked the boy to come into the jeep, which he did, watched by the others. We gave everyone a present of a large handful of tobacco, and drove over the burned grass, more crowded even than we had been before.

522 On the way home we saw and shot a springbok, as there was no meat left in camp. The bullet hit the springbok in the stomach and partly eviscerated him, causing him to jump and kick before he finally died. The Bushmen thought that this was terribly funny and they laughed, slapping their thighs and kicking their heels to imitate the springbok, showing no pity at all, but then they regard animals with great detatchment. When the springbok died we tied him to the front of the jeep and drove on. The radiator boiled all the way, causing the body to decompose. Drops of blood and drops of moisture from the springbok blew back over us, mixed with the reek of decay and with a cloud of flies which we drove too slowly to escape, and which, spattered as we were, became very attracted to us. Only the Bushmen remained in good spirits, as they were pleased to see the meat and pleased with the amusement the springbok had given them.

522
224 On the way we saw an enormous hole in the earth, dug by an aardvark months ago. We stopped, and the Bushmen on their hands and knees crawled into it until all three were out of sight. After a while they backed out, one by one, reported that it was a very big hole indeed, and got back into the jeep. But before we could drive away Witabe jumped out again. He had noticed a mound of grass which looked like a haystack, it was so big, as high as a man's knees and as broad as it was tall. It was, said Gai, built by a mouse, a kind of nest, and at Witabe's request he got on top of it and jumped up and down to frighten out whatever lived inside. He was right: presently a mouse did come rushing out to vanish im-

mediately down a hole. Gai continued treading in the half- 522
hearted hope of another mouse, with a disappointed, intent 224
expression on his face because the first had escaped him. Witabe, on the jeep, suddenly thought the whole performance so funny that he burst into laughter and laughed until he didn't make a sound, until tears ran out of his eyes and onto his belly, until he could hardly breathe, all to see Gai, the sole support of eleven people, the great hunter and provider, treading on top of a straw pile to chase away a mouse.

Gai was a little abashed and he stopped treading, but he did put his hand into the nest and pulled out the mouse's bed, a little ball of finer grass mixed with the mouse's own fur. Gai pulled it apart to show how it was made. We saw the mouse again when Witabe poked it out of the hole with a stick, but it ran back in at once, this time for good, so we went on, leaving the mouse with his home in a shambles and his soft bed gone.

We got back to camp late in the afternoon, and Tsetchwe 854
was so glad to see us that she threw her arms around me and held up her baby for me to kiss. She and I were the only young women for miles around, so there was a bond between us. She often gave me her baby to mind—not an easy job because Nhwakwe was as innocent as he was bold, and I had once taken him from under the wheels of a truck that was about to move. I had carried him to the werf for safety, but he hadn't stayed long; in a short time we had seen the grass moving at the edge of camp and Nhwakwe had appeared once more, this time dragging a toy, having walked the long distance all by himself and having navigated purely by a sense of direction, for the thick grass was high above his head.

Tsetchwe did not kiss her husband or even greet him, as 576
Bushmen are accustomed to short absences from each other 593
and it is not the custom for men and women to kiss. They

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959

FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

wives were for, and he climbed up the tree and possessed 539 them, and they conceived, and when the children were born they dropped from the tree like fruit.

Then the whole family came down, and as they were walking away Pishiboro found a night adder's home. Only the baby snakes were there; the parents had gone out. The Pishiboro family laughed at the baby snakes because they had such ugly faces, and when they had laughed all they could they went home to their scherm. That night the baby snakes told their mother what had happened, and in the morning, when Pishiboro returned for another laugh, the baby snakes were dancing and the mother snake was hiding in a little hole she had made. Pishiboro, too, began to dance, and when he danced by the hole the mother snake jumped out and bit him, and although he ran away the poison was working in him, and soon he was ill and in great pain.

The omarambas, the dry valleys in the land, are furrows that Pishiboro made on his way home because he suffered so much, and the hills at the sides of the omarambas were made by his kicking feet.

Pishiboro died from the snake bite, and now all the water that flows in the rivers in the north, all the rain, and all the water that collects in pools is the rottenness of Pishiboro, liquid made as his dead body began to decay.

After that, Ukwane stopped telling stories. He brightened 224 ● the fire by adding a stick, and the light showed everyone's face. Firelight does not dispel darkness. It just shows things in the darkness while the darkness is still there. Behind Ukwane's back we saw the shapes of the young boys bending over something, and we asked Ukwane what they were about. He told us that they were setting a snare for a mouse, a

224 mouse which had troubled the people greatly by chewing their karosses and biting holes in their melons, which made the melons dry.

We looked at the snare. It was made of a tiny sinew cord tied to the bending branch of a bush with a noose on the free end spread open with tiny sticks pushed in a circle into the ground, one of which was a trigger, baited with a melon seed. The ground was swept clean, and melon seeds were scattered around alluringly.

The young boys then went back to the werf and lay down on the ground, naked in the frost, as the older people lay nearer the fires. Tsetchwe and Gai lay side by side, the baby in Tsetchwe's arms, and everyone went to sleep for the night, and we went home.

In the morning, even before the sun rose, we went back to the werf to see if the mouse had been captured. We found the young boys already at the snare, standing in the cold grass with their arms hugged against their chests for warmth. They looked discouraged, and we saw that the snare was dangling helpless and empty. The cord was bitten through, all the tsama seeds were gone, and the earth was printed confidently with the prints of the mouse's feet.

574 do not meet very often, and when they do the children play
621 together day and night. All the young boys were extremely
857 happy to see each other and expressed their joy by starting their game at once, wasting neither time nor breath to say hello. Before the adults of the visiting band had set their bundles on the ground two little horses with their riders had run past, the riders trying to unseat each other.

574 They played all afternoon and into the evening while the
621 adults went about the business of setting up a camp. I went
361 to the new werf to watch and found that the women had stored away their belongings, stuffing some of their bundles among the tree roots, hanging others from the branches, and were now clearing grass, each woman clearing a small circle for her family. Soon five circles were formed, not quite touching, all sheltered by the branches and all in the space of a few square feet. I helped one woman pull grass, for she was clearing it tuft by tuft, pulling it up with her hands, and as I did this I felt something cold and firm in the grass I was holding, and, looking down, I saw that I was holding an asp. I dropped it, one of the Bushman men ran up to kill it, and one of the
[20] women lifted it between her fingers and placed it in her kaross. Later it would be cooked and eaten by a child.

224 That same afternoon, some of the members of our expedi-
574 tion went hunting and shot a gemsbok, which was brought back to camp and given to Ukwane to divide. This was, perhaps, a great mistake on our part, for Ukwane gave the entire carcass to the newcomers except for the head, one foot, and a little of the liquid from the rumen, which he kept for his own people. Twikwe dug a pit in the veld and roasted the head in it, and that night, while the newcomers were still butchering, drying, and cooking their larger share, the mem-

bers of Ukwane's band cut little strips from the cheeks of the 224 574
gemsbok and sustained themselves with that.

An atmosphere of tension and strain pervaded over the 574
whole werf. The Okwa people had arrived primed with jeal- 578
ousy, and had surely accused Ukwane of selfishness; the false spring, the dry conditions at Okwa had surely given their jealousy momentum. By giving most of the gemsbok to the newcomers, Ukwane had done all he could, for he had shown with his immediate generosity, and with the magnitude of his gesture, that they had nothing to fear from him. Of course, the members of his own band were as jealous of the newcomers as the newcomers were of them, but Ukwane surely felt that the internal struggles of his own band, easier to cope with, would be forgotten sooner.

The tension showed itself in struggles over food. Twikwe 262
made a soup from a bone of the foot, mixing it in the rind of 578
one of the melons she had gathered, and when it was cooked 152
she drank it herself out of the tsama rind, watched all the time by her son Wite. When she could stand his hungry eyes no longer, she put her bowl on the ground so that both of them could scoop up the broth with tortoise shells. After they had eaten part of it, Twikwe decided that it was time to pass the bowl to Kutera, who sat a little distance from them, eating nothing, looking very scrawny and trying not to watch. Twikwe started to do so; then, remembering her son, who was still hungry, she reached behind her for a second tsama rind, a little one, which she would fill for him. In this way she would, of course, have none left for herself, but she preferred to share. Adults are used to hunger, and it seems that the older Bushmen become, the less they mind deprivation. Children are different, and as their needs are considered more pressing than the adults', they are accustomed to receiving

chance to look at everyone else and see who was there, we 621
found among the Bushmen one entire band, six people, who
once had lived at Gautscha. These were an old man, his two
daughters, his son, his grandson, and his son-in-law, a man 551
named Lazy Kwi. Because Kung Bushmen have relatively
few names in use, resulting in the fact that many, many people
have the same name—one man we knew had two wives
named Kushe and two daughters named Xama, called after
his mother, whose name was also Xama—they distinguish
their various Xamas and Kwis with nicknames.

Lazy Kwi was a kind, warmhearted man, devoted to his
family, and was named Lazy, an insulting name, only because
he was not a good hunter. He was heavy-footed, therefore 224
noisy, and not an excellent shot; but he was a good trapper 262
and got meat for his family by snaring birds and lizards.
But because he did not hunt he never owned large shares of
meat and ate only what came to him by the Bushmen's system
of dividing, which put him in the role of poor relation
and sometimes forced him to eat what others would not
touch. Once he had suppressed his pride and eaten a badger.
Although the other Bushmen had turned up their noses at
this rank meat, he had said: "I am the badger-eating man,"
laughing off their scorn to hide his shame. He had eaten it
sadly, and the sweet taste of it had sickened him and had
made him vomit and retch for the rest of the day. Luckily for 224
his family, his father-in-law made beautiful arrows and in the [481]
hunting system of Bushmen the man who gives or lends the
arrow with which a buck is shot is automatically the owner
of a large share of the meat. His father-in-law often lent arrows
and often got meat. In fact, the old man had a dominant 888
voice in the running of the family, for though old men 621
may be aged and consumptive, those younger than they do
what they say. Far from being derogatory, "Old" is a term of

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959

FX10 Bushmen FX10

Kung

123 As we lay in our blankets, before we went to sleep, Lazy Kwi told us a story, told us something that had happened to him and to Toma while we had been away.

● 224 After Toma had mistaken the trucks of the farmers for our trucks, the rains had come. After the rains, when the veld was lush and tropical, when Gautscha Pan was full of water and succulent reeds, several herds of animals that do not ordinarily live in the desert had migrated south from the swamps and marshes of the Okovango River to eat the sweet grass of the pans. A herd of elephants had come and gone by, but some small herds of buffalo had come and these had stayed in the veld of Nyae Nyae, living among the pans.

One day the buffalo had come to Gautscha, and Toma, crouching on a limb of the baobab tree, had seen them wallowing in the pan and had taken his bow and arrow and, running fast and silently, had circled behind them, then had crept toward them, and from the reeds at the edge of the pan had shot a big male. The herd had bolted and Toma, after having inspected the tracks so that he would know his wounded bull when he saw its track again, had gone home. He had waited a day and a half, longer than usual because of the danger, and when the time had passed, returned with Lazy Kwi to the spot where the buffalo had been wounded. There he and Lazy Kwi had taken up the trail. The buffalo had separated from its herd and the two men had followed it silently, carefully, aware of the danger, avoiding the trail when it led through bushes. When, that night, they had not found the buffalo but knew from the freshness and pattern of the tracks that it was near and restless, they had waited in the veld, eating nothing themselves so that the buffalo would not eat and gain strength, remaining awake, moving around so that they would not get stiff but remaining silent so that the buffalo, not hearing them, would relax, lie down, and itself 224 get stiff and sore. In the morning the two men had found where the buffalo had slept, also a damp spot of its urine with black flecks in it (which I believe were flecks of blood) and Toma had pushed a poison arrow into the spot of urine so that the buffalo would be unable to urinate again, unable to rid itself of more poison.

The men had followed the buffalo's track for three days, knowing from its footprints that it was getting weaker, staggering, and in the morning of the fourth day they had come over a rise of ground and had seen it far ahead of them, lying on its side as if dead. The two men wisely had not gone up to it, but had squatted where they were to watch it, remaining this way for most of the day, and when the buffalo had not even flicked its tail or heaved its sides in breathing, Toma had considered it safe enough to approach. He had done this cautiously, very carefully, balancing his long spear in his hand, but just as Toma had stood near the buffalo, spear poised for the stab that would kill it surely, the buffalo had lurched to its feet, had chased Toma, and had tossed him on its horns.

The great boss, the heavy mass of horn on the buffalo's 752 forehead, had cracked Toma's ribs and one curved horn had hooked in Toma's side, passing through his body and out his back. Toma had lain unconscious and Lazy Kwi had carried [482] him home; later, other hunters of Toma's band had found the buffalo truly dead, partly eaten by vultures, and had taken the meat; but nothing, no medicines or cures that the Bushmen had used, had helped Toma, and the people had expected him to die.

Gautscha was the country of Toma's wife, and when Toma 752 had realized how sick he was he had wanted to return to his 648 own people, the people of Gam. Lazy Kwi and another man

the buffalo's horn had wounded him. Otherwise, he looked 609
very well. All the people seemed well, especially the children.
Toma's oldest son wore a crown of badger skin with the long 291
hair standing up on it, and two safety pins that we had given 177
him, which he wore as earrings in his pierced ears. With all 301
this he looked bold as a pirate. His brother was nearly as big
as he was, and his sister, Norna, now three, was a slender,
graceful child who regarded the world with dark, wondering
eyes.

Norna's sixteen-year-old uncle, Tu's brother, was there too. 481
He was a lame boy; he had been crippled in one leg since 732
childhood and could hobble only with the help of a long stick.
People had despaired of him, believing that he would never
be able to hunt and therefore never marry or inherit the head-
manship of Gautscha Pan, but when we saw him now and
looked at him closely we noticed a fine row of scars between 881
his eyes and on his arms and chest and we knew that he had 304
hunted and killed an antelope and had been scarified in his
initiation. We had planned on this trip to give him presents
of all kinds, to make him rich, so that he could marry whether
he could hunt or not, but we saw now that this would not be
necessary. When he knew that we had noticed his scars he
told us in great detail the story of the hunt. He told us how he [224]
had gone out with a group of hunters, how he had first seen
the two horns of a kudu above a clump of bushes, how he had
silently hobbled near it, propped himself on his crutch, and
shot it with a poisoned arrow. The arrow had penetrated
deeply and the lame boy had returned to tell the others. They
had followed it with him for a day and in the evening had
found it dead. It was the lame boy's kudu, though; he shot it,
and to Bushmen that is the important thing. He was scarified [884]
with a paste made of the kudu's meat, and ever after that he
was a man.

224 Toma's son said that he, too, had shot a buck during the
866 last rainy season, but while the hunters were following it a
857 rainstorm had come up and had washed the tracks away, forcing them to abandon the hunt, although for days they had searched the sky for the column of vultures that would show where the buck had fallen. Lions must have got it, said Toma, and eaten it in one night, and this was a great shame, for younger boys than his son had already proven themselves. The boy shrugged his shoulders at these words. He had been the first person we had met when we first had come to Gautscha Pan, and we had seen him in the veld, a naked child hardly more than an infant, standing in grass that came over his head with a toy bow and a wooden arrow in his hand. He was far from home, all by himself, but he had stood up to talk with us so boldly that our interpreter, vastly amused, had asked him what he would do if he met a lion, and with great self-possession Toma's son had said: "If he let me alone, I would let him go, but if he came for me, then we would fight."

Young Bushman boys do not always seem anxious to become adults. Like his son, in Toma's opinion, they prefer to play at hunting because as soon as they know how to hunt they have to, and hunting, say adult Bushmen, is very hard work. We felt, though, that it wouldn't be long before his son did succeed in killing an animal. Besides playing at hunting as a child he used to hunt beetles, moths, and large caterpillars by shooting them with thorns; but he was twelve now and seemed to have left his childhood behind, for while we talked his younger brother and sister played in the sand but he sat quietly with the men and listened.

163 Gao Big Feet and his wife, Dikai, Tu's sister, had had a
164 second baby, a little boy named Dabe ma, Little Dabe. Their first child, Little Gashe, now four, was blind in one eye, pos-

621 tance, but Toma said now that he would take us to see them someday soon because he believed that we would be able to help them; one man in their band, a man called Short Kwi, or sometimes Kwi the Hunter, had been bitten in the leg by a puff adder and was very badly hurt. We got the impression
159 that he had been bitten recently and, hoping that we might
621 draw the poison from the wound, we said that we would leave
752 at once. But Toma said that it had happened during the last rainy season, so there was no use hurrying; other Bushmen had cut the wound and had sucked the poison, saving Short Kwi's life, but his leg was so badly hurt that he couldn't use it. It had turned black, said Toma, and black liquid ran out at the wound. We thought then that there would be nothing we could do to help; but perhaps rumor had exaggerated the misfortune, and so we told Toma that we would certainly go to do what we could.

224 Short Kwi came from a famous family; he was the younger
159 brother of the man who murdered Toma's father, but Short Kwi was famous in his own right, famous as a hunter. He often killed more game in a year than many other men kill in their lives, a great hunter among a hunting people. The other Bushmen told stories about him—about the time he had killed four wildebeests in a herd of many, about the time he had killed an eland, a wildebeest, and a wild pig all in one day. It was his technique of hunting to be relentless in his pursuit; therefore, if he shot an animal and suspected others to be in the vicinity he would let the wounded animal run where it would while he hunted on and shot another, and another, and when all were as good as dead he would rest, then return to pick up the trail of the one that he felt would die the soonest. He almost never lost an animal, for his eyes
[151] were sharp and he could follow a cold trail over hard ground and even over stones; he could tell from fallen leaves whether

the wind or passing feet had disarranged them; and the meat 224 159
that resulted from his prolific hunting was never wasted, for 151
he would bring other hunters to help him dry it, then carry it [251 476]
off to a werf somewhere to share with others.

He knew the habits of animals from the ways of the largest 159
antelope all the way down to the smallest species of mice; in 825
fact, he must have known animals very well, for he could always find them. He knew when he was in danger and when
he was safe, and he was as brave as he was careful. Once, Short 159
Kwi, John, and two other hunters were tracking a bull wildebeest 224 157
that one of the hunters had shot. They came upon it lying down, surrounded by a very large pride of lions. There were twenty or thirty lions in all, having got there first and claiming the wildebeest as their own, for the bushes were full of lions walking back and forth, watching several other lions brave the fallen wildebeest, still able to protect itself with its horns. The braver lions were standing near the wildebeest, obviously steeling themselves for the attack, when the hunters arrived. The Bushmen had followed the wildebeest's trail through thorns and over the parching desert and were not to be deprived, and, speaking softly to the lions, they said: "We know you are strong, Big Lions, we know you are brave, but this meat is ours and you must give it back to us."

Even after these words the lions did not give ground. Their round eyes watched the hunters and they began to growl, and the four men, quite unarmed except for their arrows and a spear (to use a spear would have been folly), said respectfully: "Great Lions, Old Lions, this meat belongs to us," and then advanced on the lions, throwing little stones and clods of dirt. The lions in the bushes began to back away, while the braver lions stood their ground until a clod struck one of them, causing him to huff and run back a little. At this, the courage of the other lions broke and they all turned and

159 224 scrambled for the safety of their companions, by now quite
157 far away.

The hunters, victorious in this battle of nerves, had the bull wildebeest all to themselves, but now found that they could not approach it either. Having fended off the lions (it thought), it now tried to lunge to its feet to fend off the men. Short Kwi borrowed the spear from its owner and hurled it into the wildebeest's neck, where it stuck fast. Now they had no weapon at all. Their arrows would be useless. The sticks and stones they threw at the spear did not dislodge it and all their efforts to retrieve it by creeping up on the wildebeest from behind did not succeed, for as soon as one of them would edge near enough to touch the spear the wildebeest would toss its horns so quickly that the man would have to jump back, grazed. At last, while one of the men distracted the wildebeest from the front, Short Kwi backed off and rushed at it, jumped over it, and, as he passed over its back, jerked the spear free. The bull lunged and the curved horns hooked upward, but too late. Short Kwi was gone. Wanting a picture, John asked Short Kwi to do it again, but Short Kwi shook his head. "This time he will remember," Short Kwi said, and dispatched the bull by hurling the spear into its throat.

159 Sometimes, as on these occasions, Short Kwi hunted with
224 593 others, but mostly he hunted alone. He knew every bush and
823 stone in the area of thousands of square miles that he ranged over, and he lived for hunting. Caring more for this, his passion, than for society, he often hunted as he did when we had first heard of him, alone in the veld with only his wife—a young woman who was intelligent and gay and almost pretty, to whom Short Kwi was devoted—his baby daughter, and his mother-in-law.

Kung

We had met him for the first time at Gautscha. He had 159 224 come in from the veld one night to visit his brother, and we had met him in the morning. Short Kwi was a young, small man, shorter than his wife and so slender that he looked almost like a child. With long, light feet that took him everywhere, with heavy thighs but light calves like the thin shanks [142] of a greyhound, and with a narrow, deep chest and lungs that never winded, he was obviously built for hunting. In the rainy season when the veld was soft and muddy he often hunted with only a spear and ran the great antelopes down, for though their hooves sunk and split in the mud, causing them eventually to tire, Short Kwi never tired and his strong legs bore him after them relentlessly, sweeping him down the long plains like a wind of death.

His life in the veld seemed lonely, but I doubt that it was; he had his wife, who adored him, for company in the evenings, and although she may have missed companionship more than he did, they were both shy, both quiet, and it may [573] be that they both enjoyed their life apart. Short Kwi hunted most of the time. He would hunt on and on and when word would reach the large band of his wife's family that he had killed, the band would go out to where the animal was, dry the meat, and eat it. When there was enough meat Short Kwi would rest, would relax in the sun, would talk with his wife or make himself a new skin bag or garment, and when word would reach him that all the meat was gone he would move again. The men of his wife's family hunted too, of course, but never as successfully as he, yet his great ability set [578 him so far apart from ordinary mortals that for once the 554] Bushmen forgot their jealousy and agreed that he was the best hunter the Kalahari had ever known.

It is a custom among Bushman hunters to cut strips of skin 301 224

301 224 from the foreheads of the antelope they kill and fashion them into bracelets which their wives wear on their arms. Short Kwi's wife and daughter wore dozens of these; their arms were covered and heavy with them. [291 431] Short Kwi himself wore no ornament of any kind, nothing except a crown of badger hair which he owned for a while but later gave to Toma, the very crown that Toma's son now wore.

752 224 159 One day, said Toma, Short Kwi had been walking in the veld and had failed to watch where he was going. He had stepped on the tail of a puff adder, which had risen up and bitten his leg, just below the knee. It was a rare and terrible accident; in all the time we had been in the Kalahari we had known of only two people besides Short Kwi who had been harmed by snakes—a young boy bitten by a mamba who had died the day he was bitten, and a young woman who had been pulled into a waterhole by a water python and had drowned. Usually, snakes move away when you come near them, or if they don't, you can usually see them; but you can't walk with your eyes on the ground all the time, especially if you are hunting, as Short Kwi had been. His misfortune was regarded as a horrible accident and it was felt that the spirits of the dead were to blame. They had led Short Kwi down the very path the puff adder had chosen, and perhaps had even placed the snake where his foot was sure to fall. Toma and Goa Feet were very depressed to think of it. Although the talk turned to other things, Gao Feet mentioned the accident again and again; everything seemed to remind him of it. At last Toma said to us: "Perhaps you can help him hunt again. Since he was bitten his people have had no meat."

648 609 Toma told us that he had been with Short Kwi near Nama Pan when the third group of white farmers had arrived. The farmers had looked at Short Kwi and had offered to cut his leg off for him then and there. This had frightened the Bush-

164 Short Kwi's wife, who looked around at them all gravely, listening, and when they had finished she nodded her head. "A medicine man of Europeans," they said.

"So," said she.

We talked about the foot for a while, for although he had
covered it we could still see the toes. The people of the werf
described how Short Kwi was bitten and everyone claimed
credit for his part in saving Short Kwi's life. One man had
killed the snake, another had cut the fang punctures, and
others had given advice at the time and later. The leg had
[752] swelled enormously and the medicine men had cut the swol-
len skin to let blood; the scars of this still showed on the
healthy thigh above the blanket. All the people seemed very
depressed when talking about it, though; for one reason, they
ate meat less often, but also they truly admired him and did
not seem to enjoy watching the disaster. Toma asked Short
Kwi how he felt and Short Kwi said he thought that his leg
had seemed to be getting a little better during the last few
days.

582 It was almost evening, and we heard voices singing in the
veld. Two women and a young girl were coming home from a
trip for veld food. These three were also very happy to see us
and the little girl kissed me but not the men, then asked for
her mother, who lived at Nama and whom she had not seen
for seasons, and we told her that her mother was well. The
girl had been newly married and she was as pretty as she
could be, with lots of beads, and with long ornaments of tsi
nuts hanging beside her face. She wore a fine kaross which
[291 she had rubbed with red powder, often a sign to men that a
822] girl is menstruating, as perhaps she was, that men may be
● 224 careful not to touch her and endanger their powers to hunt.
814]
784] Marriage seemed to have agreed with her. She looked very

three-legged dog. This morning, though, he did not look at 151
anyone and seemed more silent even than he had been before.

The men made a carriage of their arms and lifted Short 482
Kwi to the top of the truck, and in the process one of them 151
lost his footing so that Short Kwi was jounced, which must have hurt him although he did not show it, Bushmen being very good at concealing pain or despair. His wife climbed on to help make him comfortable and to receive their bundles, which were being handed up, and at the sight of this his baby 152
began to cry without a sound, slow tears rolling down her cheeks and dropping to the ground. I lifted the baby and tried to play with her, jumping a little and smiling to make her smile, although of course I could not cheer her, and when Short Kwi's wife looked over the truck's side the baby twisted away from me and held up her arms.

When Short Kwi was ready we asked who would come 224●
with us, and most of his relatives decided to wait and join us 857
later because one of the young boys, a child of twelve or so, 866
had shot his first buck two days before and as the buck had still not been found, the people did not want to leave it. Toma's son himself wanted to remain because, it turned out, the buck had been shot with an arrow which he had given to another boy, who in turn had given it to the young hunter, and Toma's son, as original owner of the arrow, wanted his rightful share of the meat. When Toma said that his son could wait if he wanted but that we couldn't wait for him, his son turned to some other little boys who stood near him and began discussing the possibility of his joining the search for the animal. It was very interesting to see this conversation, these adult dealings beginning among the ten- and twelve-year-olds, these new, young hunters, these small figures of hope and strength, and we waited a long time while

224 857 866 Toma's son rubbed his head with his tough little fingers to make up his mind. Finally he left his friends and climbed on the truck. Home was too far to walk to, he said, and he was going to forfeit. As we drove away, his friends ran after us, shouting that they would bring him his share if they were able.

151 152 757 We reached Nama Pan late in the afternoon. Toma and Gao Feet cleared a werf for Short Kwi, and when he was settled comfortably with his back against a tree and with soft grass and blankets arranged all around him he said softly, just to himself and anyone else who might be listening, that during the night his leg had fallen off. After he said this he began to cry, and Gao Feet slowly crouched beside him, unwound the blanket slowly, and untied the bark, then gently lifted the knee away from the calf, which remained on the ground, just like the leg of a mummy. When the calf had fallen off, Short Kwi had pushed the two pieces back together again. Short Kwi was crying and biting his hand and his wife was crying, and Toma and Gao Feet stood beside him for a minute looking, the expression on their faces as dark as night.
766 Then they picked up the leg and carried it away to the veld, where they buried it in a hole, exactly as if it were a person, they were so sad.

152 Later, when we had dressed the stump, Toma and Gao Feet came back to sit with Short Kwi and talk with him. Gao Feet told about a Bantu man he had seen far in the north who had been injured in a mine accident and had been fitted with a false foot. Short Kwi could have one too, Gao said; but Toma said, almost too depressed to speak: "What does it matter? He is a cripple now."

521 758 Then the men went away and left Short Kwi to rest, and during the evening the children and young people were talk-

137 It was noon when we reached the tree; we broke through the bushes that surrounded it and came into its clearing, a circle thirty yards across of stony, barren ground from which the long roots had sucked the nourishment, and in the middle of the circle the great tree rose, pink-skinned and mighty, the claimer of two lives, twenty feet in diameter and almost two hundred feet high. Its lower branches were heavy and enormous, but the branches got smaller toward the top, the upper ones very thin, crisscrossing each other like lace. On the eastern face of the tree there were no branches; the pink
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481 trunk towered up and up, smooth and bare. On this side was an ascending row of pegs driven in by Bushmen long ago who had been after honey, used in later years by Bushmen hunters trying to rob the hives again or to scan the countryside for game. The pegs led from the ground around the trunk to the lowest branch, then up the trunk again to the next branch, ending finally at the top of the great tree, almost out of sight.

I knew this old tree very well, for during the year that we had lived at Gautscha we had camped beside it. It had been the home of many creatures then; and now the eastern face of the tree, the great bare slab rising like pink stone, was pocked with little holes. Some of them were empty, surely, but some had tufts of dry grass showing in the openings, little creatures' nests, and here and there, between the roots or in the forks of branches, were the caves of larger animals.

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136 Bees had lived in a hole among the branches halfway up, though Toma said the bees had now moved higher; a mongoose had lived in a little cave between the roots on the south side, though now the mongoose was dead, snared and killed by Toma's son; a python that had lived in a hole on the north side was also dead, killed and eaten by an old Bushman woman we had known; but a colony of green-furred squirrels that had lived on the lowest branches, we saw, were

still there. Bushmen do not eat squirrels because squirrels 224
have no meat on their bones. Birds of all kinds lived in the 136
great tree too, and there was a hawk's nest in the upper [262]
branches; I once had seen the two gray hawks that built it,
but now they too were gone.

It was the bees that interested the Bushmen, though, and 222
those of us who had come from Nama—Toma, Gao Feet, Crooked Kwi, Lazy Kwi, my brother, and I—sat among the rocks at the foot of the tree, the men planning what they would do. I was so tired from having been awake all night to watch the dance that I lay down on the stones and fell asleep, and when I awoke, in an hour or so, the men had built a fire but were still arguing about who would brave getting stung to find the honey. No one really wanted to do it; but I saw that Crooked Kwi was almost persuaded, being very amenable and the youngest person there. Sure enough, taking a smoldering brand in his teeth, he at last began to climb the pegs, clinging to them with his fingers and toes. Toma followed at a distance, cautiously, urging Crooked Kwi on, and the two climbed higher slowly, Crooked Kwi looking down from time to time to be encouraged. When he did, Gao Feet and Lazy Kwi would shout for him to continue. At last Crooked Kwi reached the branch beside the hive and squatted there, blowing on his brand to make it smoke while Toma climbed past him, around to another branch, where he, too, squatted with his feet apart and his hands on his knees exactly as though his feet were on the ground, the branch was so wide.

Crooked Kwi found the hole, a small opening, though even from the ground we could see a few bees humming idly outside, and blew the smoke from his brand into it, then, encouraged by Toma, reached his slender arm inside to find a honeycomb. He was stung, of course, and snapped his arm out instantly, though even then the bees were not angry. None

114 JOHN MARSHALL is one of a family that has been studying the Bushmen for nearly a decade, in expeditions to South West Africa by the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

222 !Kung women, who are slender-armed and do this monotonous work to the end of their lives. All roots—a major food—are gathered in identical fashion. The implement for this is a digging stick—made usually by a woman's [412] husband from any of a number of hardwoods: the bark is peeled from a branch, a point is whittled sharp. Women, squatting, dig narrow holes in the earth with these sticks, and tug until the root they have reached comes free. Berries are picked—high ones jostled down with sticks and sought for carefully among the grass stems. Nuts are collected on the ground.

● 224 SMALL ANIMALS, such as tortoises and even grasshoppers, are sometimes captured by the women and brought home in the evening—such small creatures are also considered *veldkos*. The women, too, will kill snakes, even puff adders. When they see a puff adder, they gather around it in a little crowd, their high laughter tinkling while they drop large, heavy things on its flat head.

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461 Averaged over a year, women gather on four or five days of each week—the number of days depending

[p. 41]

HUNTSMEN OF NYAE NYAE

The !Kung still practice man's oldest craft

By John Marshall

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HUNTING is the work of men. !Kung hunters range the land, seeking the agile game. The men walk rapidly, never lowering their eyes, making sure of the awkward ground with their dextrous feet. They glance swiftly over the distances of the country and, with their good vision and knowledge of what to look for, see any moving thing. As girls learn
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gathering, boys learn most of hunting on their own. They hunt little birds in the grass around the *werft* houses. They impale beetles with tiny arrows shot from toy bows. Tracking, which is the most difficult part

[411
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Chief weapons of !Kung are bow and poisoned arrows (in quiver, above).

[p. 45]

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868 of hunting, is learned last of all. Hunters must be able to recognize the spoor of one wounded wildebeest out of a herd of fifty, and follow that track across desert ground which is almost as hard as stone.

224 The usual techniques of hunting are well adapted to the Kalahari terrain and, except on rare occasions, do not change—no matter what the animal may be. The !Kung hunt an eland and a duiker in the same manner; the idea is to get to the animal just as quickly as possible. The hunters feel that the longer they creep and wait, the more time the

[p.46]

●224
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At end of chase, with quarry stricken, spears may be used on big game.

[p.47]

● 224 animal will have to decide what to do. I have seen a man, using this principle, run crouched across a perfectly open flat, with grass no higher than his knees, and come within twenty yards of a wildebeest who was watching him all the time. Of course the men use cover when they can, but they use it quickly and deftly, keeping on their feet and running bent and bunched so that their arms will not wave and attract unnecessary attention. Although their arrows are true and straight, they are unfeathered and therefore not very accurate. At fifty yards, a !Kung hunter can only feel sure of hitting a kudu somewhere. [411]

Among the less frequently used techniques of hunting are trapping, the use of blinds built near the pans (manned at night during the rains) and a technique of running down fat elands in the dry season when, what

[p.48]

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MR. MARSHALL has participated in all six expeditions to the Kalahari by Harvard's Peabody Museum. Two of the expeditions were in association with the Smithsonian Institution.

● 224 with the heat and exertion, the portly animals suffer a kind of stroke and have to take to the shade to recover. There, puffing and dizzy, the exhausted elands can be butchered by the deep-breathing hunters.

[223] The trap is a spring-pole snare, of which exists a small version for birds and a larger version for small bucks. Such trapping is usually practiced only by young boys, and even they seem to do it rarely, so that what could amount to an important food source is neglected by the !Kung. The men would rather be gone after the big game, absorbed in the heat and chance of hunting,

[p.49]

2216 than to be squatting around the edges of the pans, making little guises with sticks and string into which guinea fowl invariably fall.

224 278 The technology of hunting is the most complex in !Kung culture, and the most involved aspect of that technology is their amazing poison. Without it, the little unfeathered arrows, driven by a light bow, would be useless against big game. With the poison, a !Kung hunter could kill an elephant although, perhaps fortunately, for both, the two seldom encounter one another.

224 278 825 THERE are four kinds of poison—a root (which is rarely used), two grubs and the pod of a tree. One of the two kinds of grub is the larva of an unidentified beetle that lives in a bush; the other is the larva of a beetle that lives in certain Murula trees, identified as *Diamphidia sim-*

[p. 51]

Hunter's booty, in addition to meat for the pot, includes much-needed raw materials for !Kung economy. Skins of smaller animals are cut into the breech-clouts worn by the men, and, *above*, are sometimes ingeniously peeled off, almost in one piece, and turned into bags, with the legs serving as straps.

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plex. This identity, however, is complicated by the presence of still a third beetle, a parasitic one that apparently lives on the grubs of *Diamphidia simplex*, so that it is not now clear *which* is the poisonous grub. The Bushmen are aware of the parasite and feel that its grub does contain poison. They say it "runs around and runs away." They may be speaking of the beetle, for it is difficult to imagine a grub running, and the grub may be so similar to the young *Diamphidia* that the !Kung simply confuse the two. Lastly, still a fourth insect—smaller, and hairy—said to become easily inflamed, is occasionally encountered among the grubs. It is possible that this is the insect that has a poisonous larva: in any case, somewhere in the community is a poisonous grub, and how the Bushmen found it we have no idea.

Assuming *Diamphidia* to be the

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Bags for food, *above*, like eggshells for water, give !Kung some freedom in moving. Food may be brought to water or water carried far into the desert.

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poison-bearer, its cycle is somewhat as follows: the beetle lays its eggs in the Murula tree leaves. Hatching in the rains, the grubs migrate down the trunk, progressing through a number of growth stages. Finally, they make their cocoons under the ground near the tree. In these cocoons, they struggle through metamorphosis and emerge as small, bravely-colored beetles in the New Year's rains, providing the Bushmen have not already dug them up. The hunters know the particular trees frequented by the beetles and make expeditions to them at least twice a year to replenish their supply. Then the grubs are dug up, and used on the spot or kept in their cocoons, depending on the man's needs.

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The poisoning of !Kung arrows is a long process, with a number of variations. The most common poison is a mixture of the grub and the previously mentioned tree-pod. The grubs are crushed and the pod is warmed until its contents melt slightly and can be crushed with the grubs. This mixture is thinned with the copious spit which results from chewing any of a variety of barks and is then smeared on the foreshaft of the arrow—but cleaned immaculately off

[p. 53]

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278 the point, for the slightest prick, the
411 least bit of poison getting in such a
wound, would cause death.

Depending on where the poisoned
278 arrow hits, a small buck can die in
224 a morning, a man in a few hours,
a giraffe in four to five days. There
[752] is nothing that can be done for a
man, short of amputating a limb or
immediately excising the wound and cutting the nearby flesh to let the blood drain. Yet, the poison has no effect upon the game's meat. One can even eat the mixture with relative impunity: it must enter the bloodstream directly to be deadly.

224 As subsistence activities, the men's
and women's roles—hunting and
262 gathering—are of unequal weight. Almost eighty per cent of the people's food is *veldkos*, more abundant than game in *Nyae Nyae*, and far more easily acquired. If from one summer to the next, a man kills twelve antelope, he feels he has had a good year.

224 But, despite its relatively minor
subsistence value, hunting is extreme-
182 ly important in !Kung culture. It has developed its body of technology, acquired a large tradition of beliefs, fostered a wealth of knowledge, and

MEAT FROM THE CHASE is shared by all among the band. An old woman, *below*, is skinning her portion of an ostrich.

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become both the measure of a man's ability and a test of his readiness to marry. Part of the explanation may come from the passion in hunting. Like their fires, the tales of hunting burn brightly for the !Kung in the night, warming their memories. Of equal or greater significance is the !Kung craving for meat and undoubtedly for protein. Unlike the sharing of *veldkos*, limited to the nuclear family, a complex system of distribution insures that everyone in the *werft* will get a share of all game killed. This is done, they say, simply to prevent jealousy and the inevitable renunciations that go with it. The !Kung declare "We are a jealous people" and they try to keep jealousy at a minimum, for they fear it.

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Still another aspect of hunting—perhaps the most important in terms of subsistence—is the by-products it provides. Sinew is used for thongs

[p. 56]

576 uproarious, derisive laughter. All this is joking and one should not take offence. [522] The /Kung say this teaches young persons to keep their tempers.

In contrast to the joking is their care in other aspects of conduct to avoid giving offence. ≠Toma said, for instance, that, if he were forming a hunting party and a man whom he did not want asked to join him, he would be careful to refuse indirectly by making some excuse and try not to offend the man.

521 Gossip which can stir up trouble is discouraged. People do gossip but usually discreetly, in low voices, with near and trusted relatives and friends. 578 It is best to mind one's own business, they say.

People are expected to control their tempers and do so to a remarkable degree. If they are angry, aggrieved, or frustrated, they tend to mope rather than to become 152 aggressive, expressing their feelings in low mutters to their close relatives and friends. 578 ≠Toma told us that he had lost his temper twice when he was a young man and on 626 one occasion had knocked his father down. On the other he had pushed his wife into hot ashes. It had so frightened him to realize that he could lose control of himself and behave in this violent way that, he said, he had not lost his temper since.

MEAT-SHARING

224 The /Kung custom of sharing meat helps to keep stress and hostility over food at 496 a low intensity. The practical value of using up the meat when it is fresh is obvious to all and the /Kung are fully aware of the enormous social value of the custom. 578 The fear of hunger is mitigated; the person one shares with will share in turn when he gets meat and people are sustained by a web of mutual obligation. If there is hunger, it is commonly shared. There are no distinct haves and have-nots. One is not alone.

To have a concept of the potential stress and jealousy which meat-sharing mitigates in /Kung society one has only to imagine one family eating meat and others not when they are settled only five or ten feet apart in a firelit werf and there are no walls for privacy. The veld does not hide secret killing and eating because actions are printed in its sands for all to read. The idea of eating alone and not sharing is shocking to the /Kung. It makes them shriek with an uneasy laughter. Lions could do that, they say, not men.

224 The custom of meat-sharing applies only to the big game animals. Small animals the size of duikers or smaller, birds, tortoises, lizards, grasshoppers, snakes, and ostrich eggs are picked up incidentally and belong to the person who shoots, snares, finds or catches them. He may keep these for himself and his immediate family and may share them as he chooses, as if they were veldkos. ≠Toma says that, if there is only a little, he and his family eat a meal and give a little to anyone who happens to be near by at the time.

Meat-sharing applies to the big animals which are deliberately hunted by organized hunting parties. In the Nyae Nyae region they are kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok, warthogs and ostrich. Eland are found less commonly and buffalo rarely. The Nyae Nyae hunters managed to shoot giraffe occasionally. Giraffe are royal game by S.W.A. law, but the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not known this. When they were told, they called them 'Morrisi cows'. (Mr. Robert Morris was the Commissioner of Native Affairs at Runtu.)

The system by which meat is shared begins with the hunters, but the composition of the hunting party is not a matter of convention or of anxious concern. Hunting parties are freely organized by men who like to hunt with each other. No categories of kin or affines are prohibited from hunting together, whether they have a joking relationship or not or practise the sitting and speaking taboo. Men from different bands may hunt together. 224

A father has authority over his sons and sons-in-law and could tell them to go hunting or to accompany him and would expect them to obey. In other relationships participation in a hunting party is voluntary. Any man may instigate a hunt and may ask others to join. No one is formally in command of a party, unless he is the father with his sons or sons-in-law, but often an informal kind of leadership develops out of skill and judgement and the men fall in with the plans and suggestions of the best hunter or reach agreement among themselves somehow. [593]

Hunting parties are usually composed of from two to four or five men. One hunter alone is at a disadvantage. A man cannot leave the meat unguarded from lions, hyaenas, jackals, and vultures while he goes to bring help from the band to carry it nor can he carry it alone. Only occasionally are parties larger than four or five. For two parties to hunt in different directions would be more advantageous than to form a larger single party.

When the kill is made the hunters have the prerogative of eating the liver on the spot and may eat more of the meat until their hunger is satisfied. If they are far from the band, they may eat the parts that are especially perishable or most awkward to carry, like the head, and they sometimes eat the cherished marrow. They then carry the animal to the band, either in its parts, bones and all, or, if the animal is very big, leaving most of the bones and cutting the meat into strips which dry in the sun to biltong and are more easily carried on the carrying-sticks. The blood is carried in bags made of the stomach, rumen, and bladder. [251] [415]

The gall bladder and testicles are discarded at the kill. Eventually the hooves are thrown away and usually the picked bones and horns. (The /Kung make only a few artifacts of bone and horn which last a long time and seldom need replacing.) Sinews are kept for making cord. The hide would be skinned off whole and tanned if it were suitable for a kaross and someone wanted a new kaross at the time. Otherwise, the hide is dried, pounded up, and eaten. Hides are quite tasty. Feet are picked of every tissue; gristle is dried and pounded. Soft parts, such as the foetus, udder, heart, lungs, brains, and blood, are often given to old people with poor teeth. Intestines are enjoyed and desired by all. The meat of the rump, back, chest, and neck is highly appreciated. Nothing is wasted; all is distributed. [321] [283] [281] [886]

The owner of the animal is the owner of the first arrow to be effectively shot into the animal so that it penetrates enough for its poison to work. That person is responsible for the distribution. The headman of the band is not the one to distribute the meat by virtue of his headmanship, unless he happens to be at the same time the owner of the arrow. The owner may or may not be one of the hunters. [423] [622]

Hunters have arrows which they acquire in three different ways. Each man makes arrows for himself, shaping the points (usually now of metal, but still possibly of bone or wood) with some slight distinction so that he will know them from the arrows of other men. Secondly, arrows are given as gifts. The man who made the arrow or who himself acquired it as a gift, may give it to someone else, either a man or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend. 432 224 411 [431]

224 422 481 or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend. Thirdly, people lend arrows to one another. The status of the arrow plays its part in the distribution of the animal killed with it. There is much giving and lending of arrows. The society seems to want to extinguish in every way possible the concept of the meat belonging to the hunter.

A hunter chooses which arrow he will use. The owner of the arrow—who *ipso facto* owns the animal—may therefore be the hunter himself, who has chosen to use an arrow he made or one that was given him, or he may be a person who lent the arrow to the hunter.

There may be several hunters in the hunting party and several arrows in the animal, but this seems to cause no confusion or conflict. Every arrow is known, of course. The hunters may see which first penetrates effectively so that its poison could account for the kill. But I think that often it is arranged beforehand who will own the animal. A man asking another to accompany him might say, 'Come and help me get a buck.' Or 'Old Gau lent me an arrow and asked me to hunt for him. You come too.'

224 I think there is little or no dissension as to who owned the animal because it is not a cause for great stress; each hunter gets a share of the meat anyway. I think also that a man wants sometimes to be the owner of the meat in order to start the distribution off in the direction of his own kin and affines, but that one is also content sometimes not to have the onus of the main distribution.

The first distribution of the animal is made in large portions usually to five or six persons. They are the owner of the arrow, the giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not one the owner had made himself), and the hunters. The meat, always uncooked in the first distribution, is given on the bone, unless the animal is large and the meat has been cut into strips at the kill.

In a second distribution the several persons who got meat in the first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. This meat also is given uncooked. The amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution close kinship is the factor which sets the pattern of the giving. Certain obligations are compulsory. A man's first obligation at this point, we were told, is to give to his wife's parents. He must give [606] to them the best he has in as generous portions as he can, while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others. The meat may be cooked and the quantities small.

Visitors, even though they are not close kin or affines, are given meat by the people [574] whom they are visiting. This is a strongly felt social rule. Visitors may receive small quantities of cooked meat, which is like being asked to dinner.

Name relatives often receive generous portions of meat because they have the [551] same name as the giver or because their names associate them with his close kin, [608] but this seems to be more a favour than an absolute rule. ≠Toma said there were far too many men named ≠Toma for him to give them special consideration.

It ends in everybody getting some meat. 224

In the later waves of sharing, when the primary distribution and primary kinship obligations have been fulfilled, the giving of meat from one's own portion has the 224 quality of gift-giving. 431 /Kung society requires at this point only that a person should give with reasonable generosity in proportion to what he has received and not keep more than an equitable amount for himself in the end, and that the person who receives a gift of meat must give a reciprocal gift some time in the future. Such factors as the category of relationship of kin, affines, or non-related persons, the joking relationship, status, and band affiliation impose no pattern on this giving. People give to whom they please, this time to some, next time to others, more generously or less generously according to their own (to us often unfathomable) reasons. We are certain, however, that the motives are the same as in gift-giving in general: to measure up to what is expected of them, to make friendly gestures, to win favour, to repay past favours and obligations, and to enmesh others in future obligation. I am sure that when feelings of genuine generosity and real friendliness exist they would also be expressed by giving.

In the parts and quantities of meat first distributed or given in the later waves of sharing there seemed to be no taboo and no rigidity of rule.

The distribution of an eland which was killed by Gao Beard, headman of Band 2, 224 will serve as an example. There were more than a hundred /Kung at Gautscha at the time of the hunt. Both Gautscha bands (Bands 1 and 2) were present. Bands 3, 4, and 7 were visiting and there was a sprinkling of visitors from other bands.

The hunting party was composed of four men: Gao Beard; his first wife's brother, //Ao, and his own brother, /Qui, both of whom lived with him in Band 2; his brother-in-law, /Naishi, the husband of his sister, //Kushay. They were visiting at the time.

The party had hunted for eight days without success in heat so exhausting that they had to lie covered with sand through the middle part of the day.

/Qui was the first to see the eland. It was a huge one. As /Qui had been asked to come on the hunt by his brother to help him, he told Gao Beard where the eland was and did not shoot at it himself.

Two boys joined the men to track the eland after it was shot. The party tracked it for three days and then found it dead from the poison. They cut up the meat and brought it to the werf at Gautscha, which was two days' travel away. The hunt had lasted thirteen days in all.

Gao Beard was himself the owner of the arrow. The arrow had been given by one person to another five times. /Gao Music (Band 1), who made it, gave it to his sister, /Goishay, who gave it to her husband, ≠Gao, headman of Band 3. He gave it to his brother, Gao, also of Band 3, who gave it to his wife, Di/ai. Di/ai gave it to Gao Beard, her brother, who shot the eland with it and who was responsible for the distribution of the meat.

Gao Beard first gave meat to the hunters who helped him, as was the custom. To /Naishi he gave a forequarter and to //Ao a forequarter and the head. (The hunters usually received a forequarter or hindquarter or an equivalent amount. The head was an extra gift.) The two boys who helped track got nothing—because their fathers would give them some, we were told. To our astonishment, /Qui was given nothing. Gao Beard explained that his brother would eat from his pot. (Actually he

224 might eat more in this way as he would not have to share that cooked meat with anyone but his wife and child.)

Gao Beard's sister, Di/ai, who had given him the arrow, received the meat of the back and throat and the intestines.

Gao Beard kept the meat of the neck for himself and in a second wave of distribution gave the rest of the meat as follows:

To his first wife, //Kushay, he gave both hindquarters, the meat of the chest, the lungs, part of the liver and one hind foot. To his mother he gave the meat of the belly and one hind foot. To his sister, //Kushay, and to /Gasa, the wife of his brother, /Qui, he gave one front foot each.

The amount given to his first wife was enormous. In addition to giving to her co-wife, also named //Kushay, and their children, she was to give a large portion of it to her parents, who lived with them in Band 2. (On other occasions the man had given directly to his wife's parents—not through his wife.) When the meat was cut up, //Kushay gave to her father, Old ≠Toma, four bundles of strips of clear raw meat (it was somewhat dried by then). There were about ten or twelve strips to a bundle, about 2½ to 3 feet long. We guessed the weight in all to be about 60 to 70 pounds. She gave meat also to her two younger brothers, /Gao and /Gunda. (Her other brother, //Ao, who had been one of the hunters, had got his share from Gao Beard.) She gave to her co-wife's father (≠Gao, Band 4) and to Old /Gaishay, her co-wife's MoFa, headman of Band 4. She then gave to six other persons, all in Band 1. They were her cousin, Old Gau (her FaSiSo) and his two daughters, and two other cousins (FaSiDas), Di/ai and /U, and /U's husband, ≠Toma.

The giving of raw meat went on. Old ≠Toma gave to eighteen people: his wife, six affines, three kin, two name relatives (i.e. a visitor because his father's name was ≠Toma, and Old /Gasa because her deceased husband's name was ≠Toma), and six other persons. Telling us the reasons for giving to the last six, whose kin or affinal connexions with ≠Toma, if any, were so remote we did not bother to trace them, he said of one, 'He is an old man whom I like in my heart', and of another, 'He was hungry for meat.' In the end Old ≠Toma gave some of the meat back to his daughter, //Kushay.

Di/ai (Band 3), the giver of the arrow, gave raw meat to six persons: her husband's mother, brother and two sisters (in Band 2), a visitor who was her HuSiHuBr, and her mother's brother, headman of the visiting Band 7.

Persons who had by this time received substantial amounts of raw meat began giving to others. We recorded 63 gifts of raw meat. Doubtless there were more. After the raw meat was given, there was further sharing of the individual's portions, cooked or raw, with parents, offspring, spouses, and other persons who live together.

264 Meat is not habitually cooked and eaten as a family meal among the /Kung. When
an individual receives a portion of meat he owns it outright for himself. He may give
422 and share it further as he wishes, but it never becomes family or group property.
The men, women, and children may cook their pieces when and as they wish, often
[252] roasting bits in the coals and hot ashes and eating them alone at odd times. Or someone may start a big pot boiling and several people will bring their pieces to put into it at the same time, each taking his own piece out when it is cooked.

The sense of possessing one's own piece personally is, I believe, very important

to the /Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and 422
struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or 264
excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves 114
until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae /Kung eat hearty meals of
meat when they have been long without, but nothing more than we considered a 264
normal amount. They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. [251]
It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey
or against a future day of hunger.

The /Kung are quite conscious of the value of meat-sharing and they talk about it, 284
especially about the benefit of the mutual obligation it entails. The idea of sharing is deeply implanted and very successfully imposes its restraints. To keep meat without sharing is one of the things that just is not done.

Gift-giving

The custom of gift-giving comes, in my opinion, second only to meat-sharing in 431
aiding the /Kung to avoid jealousy and ill will and to develop friendly relations. /Kung society puts considerable emphasis on gift-giving. Everything a person has may have been given to him and may be passed on to others in time. The /Kung make their artifacts, on the whole, of durable material and take good care of them. They last for generations and move in a slow eddy among the people. The dealings are only between individuals, but they are numerous and provide occasion, perhaps more than any one other activity does, for visits which bring whole bands into polite encounter.

We gave cowrie shells as parting gifts in 1951 to the women in ≠Toma's band, [123]
the band which first sponsored us and with which we stayed and did our consistent
work, wherever they were, on each expedition. We had carefully observed that there
were no cowrie shells among /Kung ornaments before we gave them. Ours were [177]
bought from a New York shell dealer, perhaps to the confusion of future archaeologists. We gave to each woman enough for a short necklace, one large brown shell and twenty smaller grey ones. In 1952 there was hardly a cowrie shell to be found in Band 1. They appeared, not as whole necklaces, but in ones and twos in people's ornaments to the edges of the region.

The /Kung have not developed special objects to use as gifts. Nor have they invested ordinary objects with special gift significance. What they give each other are the common artifacts and materials of everyday life (see Appendix). Some objects are more highly valued than others as gifts, as one would expect. I gathered that relative scarcity of material was a factor and that objects were appreciated for their beauty, workmanship, and appropriate size (a wide headband is better than a narrow one). People took an interest in remembering to whom an object had been given in the recent past, but the /Kung, who are present-oriented, do not place special value upon antiquity as such or systematically hold the distant past in mind.

The /Kung decorate their artifacts very little (they have developed music and 301
dancing, not the plastic or pictorial arts), but they delight in ornaments with which [531]
to adorn themselves. The intrinsic beauty, the meaningfulness, and the relief to the monotony of yellow-brown skin and grey-brown leather karosses are all valued.

Sinews

Made and used by men

- bow-strings
- wrappings for arrow-shafts (the poison adheres well to sinew)
- binding for hafts
- snares

Made by men, used by all

- strings for *//guashi* (musical instrument)

Made by men or women

- fine rolled cord

Horn

Made and used by men

- horns fitted with leather covers for carrying arrow-points
- horns for cupping

Used by all

- horns for pipes
- horns for spoons

281
462
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301

Shell

Made by men, used by all

- ostrich egg-shell water-containers
- tortoise-shell dippers
- tortoise-shell containers

Made by women

- ostrich egg-shell beads

Feathers

Used by boys on *jani* toys
Worn by all occasionally in hair

[237]

VEGETABLE MATERIALS

Wood

Made and used by men

- bows
- spear handles
- axe or adze handles
- knife handles
- knife sheaths
- spring-hare hook handles[1]
- fire-making sticks
- hatchet bow (musical instrument) (few)

Made by men, used by all

- digging sticks
- carrying sticks
- stirring sticks
- mortars and pestles
- bowls
- spoons
- fire scrapers
- *//guashi* (musical instrument)
- one-stringed violin
- *jani* toys
- beads

Made by women

- frames for scherms

Fibres

(from *sansevieria*, aloe, */noa* tree roots, other roots)

824
462
322
[283]

Rolled by men and women

- cord

Made and used by men

- carrying-nets
- snares

Made and used by all

- ornaments

Grass

Made by men and women

- stoppers for ostrich egg-shell water-containers
- ornaments

824
462

Made by women

- scherms

Made by children

- toys of grass folded and woven to suggest animals

[524]

Used by all for beds

[411]
[417]
[224]

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[1] Bushmen use sticks 12 to 15 feet long made of flexible rods in 3 or 4 sections, with a hook fastened to the end, to hook spring-hares which live in deep burrows. They seldom succeed but keep on trying. They carry only the hook around with them and whenever they need a handle they make a new one.

776 It was characteristic of the /Kung that none of the medicine men whom we knew 756 claimed to have seen *≠Gao!na.* They were not great enough, they said. The /Kung [156] do not wish to risk drawing upon themselves the invidious attention of mortals or the whimsical displeasure of the gods by setting themselves up noticeably before others. Some said that they had been told by their parents of only one great medicine man among their neighbouring bands who had seen *≠Gao!na.* His name was Gao. He died long ago.

776 Although *≠Gao!na* comes only to the great medicine men 'in the flesh', so to speak, 787 he appears to anyone in dreams and 'helps all his people'. A hunter said that [224] *≠Gao!na* stands beside one in one's dream and says, 'You have been walking and walking and you got nothing. Today I shall give you meat.' The hunter gets up and goes out on to the veld. He sees an animal and shoots it. *≠Gao!na* may say, on the other hand, 'These days you will not find an animal even if you hunt'; and it will [756 533] be the truth. He may tell you in a dream where to find honey in a tree or where to find an ant hill. He gives power to the medicine men in dreams and also medicine songs. A medicine woman described vividly how he had taught her a medicine song which she then gave to her people. He stood beside her instructing her to sing the song over and over until she had learned it.

//GAUWA, THE LESSER GOD

776 [775] Among the Nyae Nyae /Kung the word *//Gauwa* has three interpretations. First, a *//gauwa* is the spirit of a dead person; the spirits of the dead in the plural are *//gauwasi.* Second, the Nyae Nyae /Kung, as we have said, call the children born to the gods 'little *//gauwasi*'. Third, they apply the name *//Gauwa* to both the great and the lesser god. It is one of the seven names they have in common. In the current beliefs of the Nyae Nyae /Kung there is not a being called *//Gauwa* who is a separate entity apart from the great and the lesser god.

Among other Bushmen and the Hottentots, *//Gauwa* was a being distinct from the other being who is variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, &c. As I interpret the present belief of the /Kung, the lesser god is that old, traditional *//Gauwa.* He has been transmuted, however, from the old image to a new one, as the old protagonist, *≠Gao!na*, was transmuted into the great god. *//Gauwa*'s name has been attributed to the great god as the great god's names have been attributed to him. The two beings remain separate entities in the *!gu!na–!guma* relationship.

I base the interpretation that the lesser god is the traditional *//Gauwa* on the facts that many of his attributes are the same as or similar to those of the traditional being and that I did not hear people use any other name for him but *//Gauwa* and did not once hear the name *//Gauwa* used for the great god when people spoke spontaneously of him, although they insisted that it was one of the seven names which the gods have in common.

Excerpts from Schapera indicate that *//Gauwa* was generally the destroyer. Vedder reports that the /Kung at Tsumeb expect only evil from him and think of him as opposed to *Huwe.* But Lebzelter's Eastern Kung believed that he was good as well as evil, that he helped hunters, and some thought he was the creator. 'He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.'[1] By the Heikum also he was

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[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 188.

170. TOBIAS, Phillip
Les Bochimans Auen et Naron de Ghanzi contribution a L'etude des "anciens jaunes sud-Africaines". illus. map 113
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{ 60 1/2 : 22-52 J. 1956.
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171. TOBIAS, Phillip
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172. TOBIAS, Phillip V.
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Nature. 183: 1011-1013. April 11. 1949.

(Results of psychological and other tests).

173. TOBIAS, Phillip V.
Physique of a desert folk.
Natural History. 70 (2): 16-25. Feb. 1961.

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174. TOBIAS, Phillip V.
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S. Afr. Jour. Sci. 55: 13-18. 1959.

175. TOERIEN, M. J.
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(Gives some information on social life. Mainly physical anthropology).

176. TRENK, (Oberleutenant)
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Mitt. deuts. Schuts. 23 (3): 166-170. 1910.

(Use of whistle signals in hunting). [224]
[198]

177. VAN HOEPEN, Iv. E.C.N.
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S.A.M.A.B. 2(9): 217-221. 1941.

(Use of pots and stone-walled dwellings by Bushmen. [342]

178. VAN REENEN, Reenen J.
[illegible]ts oor die Boesmankultuur: n lesing gehou voor die Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie op Stellenbosch, Januarie, 1920 en gedruk op las van die Akademie Bloemfontein, 1920. Bloemfontein, 1920. 75. p. illus.

179. **VEDDER, H.** 113

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p. 664-666 Bibl.
p. 77-92 Bushmen
101-107

An Afrikaans translation of this work exists.

180. **VEDDER, H.**

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181. **VEDDER, H.**

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S. Afr. Jour. Sci. 34: 416-436. Nov. 1937.

182. **VEDDER, H. and UNTERKOTTER, A.**

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183. **VIALLS, C.C. Clement**

Masarwa or Bushmen of Kalahari.
Afr. Mthly. 5: 29-33. Dec. 1908-May 1909.

(General description, remarks that action of Bushman poison spoils the skin of animals etc. killed by it. Poison from spider's eggs and herbs.) 224
411

184. **WERNER, H.**

Anthropologische, ethnologische und ethnographische Beobachtungen über die Heikum-und Kungbuschleute. Inebst einen Anhang über die Sprachen dieser Buschmannstämme. illus.
Z. für Ethn. 38(3): 241-268. 1906.

(Contains notes on music, comparative vocabulary of Heikum and Kung).

185. **WEYER, Edward**

Primitive peoples today. London, 1959. 285 p. illus.

p. 178-200 Bushmen
(Social life and customs and religious beliefs).

186. **WILHELM, Joachim Helmuth**

Die ! Kung-Buschleute: mit einer Einführung, Anmerkungen und einer Karte von F.R. Lehmann. bibl.

Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig 12:91-188, 1953.

182 A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties
which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters
312 them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival,
[161] for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in
[648] the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been
comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity
134 and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level
mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily
available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant
when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated
with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy
soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage
organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough
that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they
are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

137 Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still
have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again
[222] to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-sticks
which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage
● [224] organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre
[262] content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the
various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking sur-
224 faces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed
with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not
[411] necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the
advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death
as certainly to big game as to small.

101 LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bush-
197 men cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings
and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans
refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking
[829] Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a mul-
titude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local group-
[184] ings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the
language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while
they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within them-
[621] selves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band
[622] composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Or-
ganization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

101 The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a
131 group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /õassi* and who live in the
[197] Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

in several different bands, and they may choose among them. A band that 628
owned comparatively good resources would tend to attract more members 186
than a band with scant veldkos. This flexibility of residence pattern is one [621]
of the reasons that one finds the bands of the interior of the Nyae Nyae re- [182]
gion relatively in balance with their resources, and varying in size.

WATER • Two or more bands may share the ownership of a water hole. 312
Water holes keep their own rough population balance because, if water is 361
very scarce, people will go to live elsewhere when they have the possibility of [423]
doing so.

In the interior of this region, in roughly 8000 square miles, there are three water holes that can be called really permanent. In the driest years these do not fail. Four others dry up only in years of severe drought. Six more are semipermanent: in a very good year they may yield a little water right
through, but in a dry year they are sure to dry up. When the semipermanent [621]
water holes go dry, the bands who own them may break up temporarily and the families may go to live with relatives who are at permanent water holes, or they may go as whole bands to another water hole where they have relatives.

Water is not owned as exclusively or as jealously as veldkos. Water 312
seems to belong more to mankind, as the animals do, and the ownership of 423
water holes emphasizes more the managing than the withholding of the water.
The headman controls the water. His permission should be asked by travelers [622]
or visitors before taking water, "because he knows what he has and what can be done," we were told. We saw small temporary water holes marked with bundles of grass thrust into forked sticks. This was to tell visitors or travelers that the owners of the water hole were in residence, as it were, and were counting on the water. We believe that in these circumstances water would not be taken without permission. Occasions are not likely to arise where permission need be refused. The !Kung know where the others are, or are likely to be, at a given time and know how much water is available. They plan better than to get themselves into desperate situations.

One source of water appears to be owned by individuals. It is the rainwater that collects in hollow mangetti trees. The water in trees is not stolen
by others who go to gather in the same mangetti forest. Water, incidentally, [27]
is the only beverage of the !Kung in the interior of the region. They have no alcoholic drinks and use no infusions of herbs.

HUNTING AND MEAT SHARING • !Kung hunting regulations do not confine 224
the hunters to territories. The game animals belong to no one until they are shot, and the hunters may follow them anywhere the spoor leads and may
cross the territorial boundaries of any band. If hunters have made a kill in [431]
the territory of a neighboring band, they would not fail to give a present of

224 meat to the owners of the territory should they happen to encounter them, [431] but this is a gift, not an obligatory tribute. The vastness and emptiness of [182] the country allow this freedom in hunting rights and the wandering nature of the game requires that the hunters, if they are to succeed at all, be free to look for game wherever they can find it.

222 The !Kung eagerly pick up tortoises, certain kinds of lizards, snakes, ostrich eggs, and grasshoppers, and they relish termites when these insects [262] swarm out in nuptial flight. These items provide incidental delicacies and gathering them is like the gathering of veldkos. The person who gathers 224 them may keep them for himself and his own family. Men gladly shoot small 223 animals and birds if they happen upon them—wart hogs, duikers, other small antelope, porcupines, badgers, pythons, spring hares, ostriches, paouws, guinea fowl, red-winged partridges, occasional migrating geese, and other birds. They may keep them for their own families. They do not, however, devote their hunting time to the smaller animal creatures if they find fresh spoor of the larger ones. Hunting the big game animals that feed a whole band is the work of a man's prime and is incumbent on him.

224 Hunting parties usually consist of from two to four or five men. A man cannot hunt effectively alone in this country. Several parties hunting in different directions are more advantageous than one larger party. Any man may organize a hunting party, with relatives and friends from his own band or from neighboring bands—men he likes to hunt with. No one is formally a leader; the men talk and plan together and are likely to fall in with the suggestions of the one whom they consider the best hunter. Participation in any given hunting party is voluntary. What !Kung society urges is that the [461] hunters hunt; it does not restrict the ways and means. The force of public [626] opinion upon men not to sit in the werf, not to be lazy but to do their share, is tremendous.

The game the !Kung hunt deliberately and purposefully are the several big antelopes found in the region: eland, kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok. They also hunt the more rarely seen buffalo and occasionally manage to shoot a giraffe. Although there is this considerable variety of kind, there is not a great abundance of game. The herds are small and the hunts long and hard.[8] The antelope, because they can go for long periods without drinking, move and drift about anywhere in the vast monoto- [484] nous veld and are very difficult to find. Hunters often search for days, covering scores of miles, before finding spoor fresh enough to follow, and they may [411] follow it for days before catching up with the animal. Their little arrows kill by poison rather than by piercing deeply, and, when an animal is shot, if it is big, it may wander for three or four more days until it dies of the poison. [136] Smaller animals succumb in a shorter time. The hunters must track the animal and find it before the lions, leopards, hyenas, jackals, or vultures devour it.

vour it. Thus, according to our observations, a !Kung band gets on an average 224
only about fifteen to eighteen large animals in a usual year.

The meat of the large game animals does not belong to the hunters to do
with as they choose. However, they always have the prerogative of eating the [262]
liver at the site of the kill and, if their hunger is not satisfied, they may eat
more. The bulk of the meat is then carried to the band, where it is distributed
among the members according to a system. The meat belongs to the owner
of the first arrow that penetrates the animal so that it stays in. He has the
responsibility of making the first distribution.

Anyone in the band may be the owner of the arrow. A hunter carries 224
arrows he acquires in three different ways. Each man has his own that he 411
makes himself, shaping the points with some little distinction so that he 422
will know them from the arrows of other men. In addition he carries 426
arrows that have been given or lent to him. When an arrow is given to him, 431
he is the owner as much as if he had made it himself, but if he uses that 571
arrow he must make a special gift of meat to the donor. When he uses
an arrow that is loaned to him, he merely shoots for the person who lent it
and who remains the owner of the arrow. !Kung society makes a great deal
of giving and lending arrows. Women and old men, as well as men in their
hunting prime, receive arrows as gifts and may give them or lend them to
a hunter, asking him to shoot for them. A hunter cannot refuse an arrow— [576]
as a person cannot refuse any gift—without offending the giver. He accepts
the arrow and with it an obligation, but he gives or lends arrows in return
and involves others in obligation to him. Hunters choose to use one or
another of their arrows, with the result that the responsibility of distributing
the meat, with its advantages and obligations, is shared by members of the
band as is the meat itself.

In the first distribution the whole animal is divided among a few 224
persons, who receive whole sections on the bone, unless the animal is so
large that the meat has to be cut off in strips to be carried. The first of these
persons are the hunters, each of whom gets a fore- or hindquarter or the
equivalent. The giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not made by the
owner himself) receives a generous portion. The owner of the arrow, who
may be one of the hunters, or anybody, keeps the rest.

In the second distribution, the several persons who got meat in the 224
first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. The 602
amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much
as the giver can manage. In the second distribution, close kinship is the
factor that sets the pattern of giving. A man's first obligation at this point [606]
is to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous [593]
portions as he can while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are
to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself
at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if

224 they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly
602 only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others.
[574] This meat may be cooked and the quantities small. Visitors receive small amounts of cooked meat from their hosts. It ends in everybody getting some meat.

224 In the later waves of sharing, when the primary distribution and pri-
431 mary kinship obligations have been fulfilled, the giving of meat from one's own portion has the quality of gift giving. !Kung society requires at this point only that a person should give with reasonable generosity in proportion to what he has received and not keep more than an equitable amount for himself, and that the person who receives a gift of meat must give a reciprocal gift of meat at some time in the future. People give to whom they please, this time to some, next time to others, more generously or less generously
[571] according to their own (to us often unfathomable) reasons. We are certain, however, that the motives are the same as in gift giving in general: the person gives to measure up to what is expected of him, to make friendly gestures, to win favor, to repay past favors and obligations, and to enmesh others in future obligation.

224 Aside from the practical advantage of using up meat while it is still
431 fresh, the !Kung custom of meat sharing has enormous social value. It does
181 a great deal to mitigate tensions. The fear of hunger is lessened. People are
[154] sustained by a web of mutual obligation. Moreover, they are fully conscious
[183] of these values, and the custom is so strongly established and so faithfully followed that the idea of not sharing is virtually unthinkable to the !Kung.

422 Meat is not habitually cooked and eaten as a family meal among the
262 !Kung. When an individual receives a portion he owns it outright. He may
264 give and share it further, as he wishes, but it never becomes family or group property. The men, women, and children may cook their pieces when and as they wish, often roasting bits in the coals and hot ashes and eating them alone at odd times. Or someone may start a big pot boiling and several people will bring their pieces to put into it at the same time, each taking his own piece out when it is cooked.

The sense of possessing one's own piece personally is, I believe, very
[261] important to the !Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

224 It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they
261 gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae !Kung eat hearty meals of meat when plenty appeared and they had been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount.

They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not 251
uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming 261
journey or against a future day of hunger, as they eat sparingly of mangetti
nuts and *tsi* when they must make a supply they have carried from a great
distance last as long as possible.

The !Kung are well accustomed to restraining themselves in regard to 261
food. Thus when a visitor comes to a fire where people are preparing food 576
or eating, he should sit at a discreet distance, not to seem importunate, and
wait to be asked to share.

Although the hunters supply only about a fifth of the people's food 433
and the women four fifths, the women play a dependent role in !Kung 462
society. Nevertheless, the men do not ill-treat the women and require no 562
extreme form of obedience or subservience of them.

The primary factor in the dominance of the men is undoubtedly 562
strength. !Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous 147
and, with their strength, they carry and protect the very life of their people.

Another factor that brings men clearly forward is the character of 562
hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is nothing 462
splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. Many of the vegetable 262
foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. 224
The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat,
the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally
the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging
powerful emotions. Once a young man, /Qui, who was said to be the best
hunter in the region, had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a
big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt, facing the creature,
until it was within close range and shot an arrow straight into its heart.
Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by /Qui's [535]
wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes
and the women—some of the plumes in their hair—danced a dance of praise
around him. This is the role of !Kung hunters.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSE TYPE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN • The 342
building of the scherm—the Bushman reed-and-grass dwelling—is women's [462]
work, associated with vegetation and gathering. Each woman builds for her
own family. However, unless no better shade can be found or unless it is
raining, the women often do not bother to build these shelters. Especially
after the long days of walking, it is easier just to settle in the bushes.

In the Nyae Nyae region, wood and grass are everywhere, and a [137]
woman can gather her material and build her scherm in less than an hour. [361]
She breaks up flexible branches about six feet long, digs holes with her

other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung. The *Choma* is not 881
compulsory; most boys take part but a few refuse. *Choma* owners do not [875]
form a corporate sodality. !Kung society has no such units except kinship
groups.

Another ceremony for boys, which is presumably ancient and tradi- 884
tionally Bushman, must be performed before a boy can marry. This ceremony [224]
is performed twice for each boy, individually, on the occasion of his first
killing a large game animal, once for the first male, once for the first female.
The meat is cooked at a special fire, which women must avoid, and is eaten [262]
ceremonially by the men. The boy is scarified, by his father or another 884
male relative, on his right side for the first male animal, on his left side for the 304
first female. Little vertical cuts are made in his skin in lines on his arms,
chest, back, and forehead, and a paste of charred meat and fat is rubbed
into them. This is to ensure his seeing well, shooting well, and having a
heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I
not out hunting?"

The passage from childhood to adulthood is marked for a !Kung girl 881
by a ceremony at her first menstruation. The girl is isolated in a special
scherm for the duration of the flow only. She must be covered by a kaross
because the sun must not shine upon her, and her feet must not touch the
ground. When she must go out to urinate or defecate, she is carried on the
back of the old woman (not her mother) who attends her. It is not the
menstrual blood but the girl herself who must be kept from touching the
ground. She would get thin if she disregarded this taboo. Men and boys [562]
must not look at the girl and she must not look at them lest the men become
highly visible to animals and unable to get near enough to them to shoot.

Every day that the girl is in the menstruation scherm, the women who 881
are present and one or two old men dance a special dance called the Eland [535]
Dance and sing a special cycle of First Menstruation music. The Eland [533]
Dance is full of sex symbolism. The two old men should be free from even [illegible]
the most attenuated, symbolic extension of the incest taboo with respect [illegible]
to the girl, and it follows that they should have what is called the joking
relationship with her. The usual strict modesty of the women is set aside.
They take off their karosses (leaving their aprons on, however) and hang
strings of beads from their waists down over their bare buttocks. The old
men, with forked sticks tied to their heads to represent eland horns, imitate
the gait and carriage of elands, and dance among the women with subtly
erotic gestures. The other men and boys of the verf must stay at a distance.

When the girl stops menstruating she is washed, rubbed with tsī and 881
fat, and her face is painted with red lines. She then may go among the [302]
people again, but the first time she takes water from the water hole and [252]
the first time she cooks and eats veldkos, the water and veldkos must be

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The *Choa* Ceremony The mother takes the girl's hands to scrape the *tsi* out of the ashes.

881 *choa*-ed. The old woman who attends her performs this part of the ceremony
252 (or her mother may do so). She scrapes a root called *sha sha* into the water
[824] hole. To *choa* the veldkos, the old woman takes the girl's hands in hers and
together they place the veldkos in the fire. When it is cooked, they scrape
it out together and the old woman puts *sha sha* in her mouth, chews it,
and blows on the girl's hands and on the veldkos. This protects the girl
from having an upset stomach. Each veldkos must be *choa*-ed the first time
the girl eats it after the First Menstruation ceremony.

841 No ceremonials mark subsequent menstruation periods, and the women do
not seclude themselves during the flow or avoid gathering veldkos or dipping
[224] water from the water hole. They continue only to practice certain avoidances
that in general have to do with men's hunting. The menstruating woman
must not touch hunting gear; it would be very bad, for the arrows would
be useless. She must not have sexual intercourse with her husband; it would
make him tired and thin. Men in the years of their hunting prime should
not talk or listen to talk about menstruation, for to do so might make them
lazy in hunting.

881 The girls who are married before their first menstruation have the
same menstruation ceremony when the time comes as do the unmarried girls.

304 There is no genital mutilation practiced among the girls and women
of the !Kung. Girls are scarified, but not at the time of the menstruation cere-
[852] mony. The scarification is begun when the girl is about seven or eight and
is continued little by little over several years. Stripes are made on the legs,

174 1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common
[172] origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen
in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South
Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape
of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa
in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro
tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and
fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at
177 the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon
Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or
131 exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

131 (3) The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as
162 listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

144 (4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into cate-
[114] gories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

114 (5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been pub-
147 lished by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

224 (6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed
126 in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

553 (7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential
602 beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed.
121 A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

121 view of the Bushmen. The present study is a contribution to this reorientation and, as such, has implications, not only for Bushman studies, but for the study of hunters and gatherers in general.

The study of subsistence ecology focusses attention on those aspects of the man/environment relation which pertain to the getting of food. Since there are populations of Bushmen available which still maintain a full-time, year-round, hunting and gathering way of life, an investigation of subsistence ecology can be founded on a firm empirical basis. The investigator does not have to rely on the memory of informants concerning conditions no longer in existence.

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Another recent study - of the subsistence activities of Australian aborigines in Arnhem Land (McCarthy and McArthur 1960) - offers an instructive contrast to the present study. Both studies are concerned with the subsistence ecology of hunter-gatherers. The difference lies in the fact that the Australian groups studied spent the greater part of each year living on mission stations where they ate European foods. Consequently, the Australian scientists could observe traditional food getting for two week periods that were bracketed by periods of residence on the mission stations. The Bushman study, on the other hand, is a continuous record of hunting and gathering activities extending over a fifteen month period. The Dobe area Bushmen were hunting and gathering for the simple reason that

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121 there was no viable alternative locally available to them.

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224 The presence of these conditions has made it possible not only to observe ongoing subsistence behavior, but also to attempt to understand the dynamics and the underlying rationale of hunting and gathering as a total way of life.

R.B.L.

Cambridge Mass.,
July 1965.

121 (George Silberbauer) was already conducting research among the Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

After DeVore's return to Harvard in September, the author surveyed the Ngamiland situation and found that the Bushman population in the northwestern sector satisfied our research requirements.

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In October, 1963, there were about 430 Bushmen living at nine waterholes in the !Kangwa administrative district. Over 70% of these people were organized into bands and depended on hunting and gathering for their subsistence. Although some 340 Bantu lived in the district they had not established a lord-client relationship over the Bushmen. This feudal type of social system exists elsewhere in the Kalahari but not in 114 the !Kangwa district. The author was the first white person to live in the district. The Marshall expeditions had touched the western edge of the district but had centered their research at /Gautscha, a camp about 40 miles west of our area.

The main field station was set up at Dobe, a small waterhole in Bechuanaland, two miles east of the Bechuanaland - South West Africa border. The author conducted research here for twelve months, except for intervals of work elsewhere in the Kalahari and study periods in Livingstone, Johannesburg, Windhoek and Capetown.

In October, 1964, Irven and Nancy DeVore joined the author

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

II. THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BUSHMEN

Defining Bushmen

101 Bushmen may be defined racially, linguistically or
culturally. None of these criteria used alone will give a
142 satisfactory definition. If the presence of "Bush" physical
144 type is used as the criterion of Bushman status, then some
members of Hottentot tribes would be incorrectly included,
and members of the hybridized Bushmen peoples of Ngamiland
197 would be excluded. Similarly the presence of a click non-
121 Bantu language would include not only Hottentots again, but
also the Hottentot speaking negroid Bergdama of South West
224 Africa, and the Hadza-Sandawe peoples of Tanganyika. A
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464 strictly economic criterion, such as the presence of a hunting
648 and gathering way of life would arbitrarily exclude the many
241
233 thousands of Bushmen who are working on European Farms or
practicing agriculture and pastoralism.

114 A further complication in defining Bushmen is offered by
197 the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963). He has demon-
strated that the so-called Central Group of Bushman languages
of Bleek (1929) are in fact closely related to Hottentot.

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[114] In this paper a simple ethnic definition of Bushmen is
adopted, following the lead of Joyce (1939) and Tobias (1956).
Throughout Bechuanaland, the Tswana word "sarwa" is applied to

The economic position

114 Tobias erred when he estimated that in 1956, 35,000 of
224 the 55,000 Bushmen "lead a hunting and food-gathering life,
222 barely removed from that of the late Upper Palaeolithic or
161 of the South African Later Stone Age." (1957:33). The first
comment concerns the numbers of Bushmen still hunting; the
second the "primitiveness" of the modern Bushmen hunters.

162 Of the 15,000 Bushmen in South West Africa at least
131 9,500 are working on European farms. An additional 3,000
464 are either working for Bantu agriculturalists or practicing
648 agriculture and stock-keeping themselves. (Republic of
224 South Africa 1964:29,41). This leaves 2,500 as hunter-gatherers in South West Africa.

In Bechuanaland an estimated 16,300 Bushmen work on European farms or Bantu cattle posts. A further 2,000 are practicing a mixed agricultural and hunting way of life. The remaining 6,100 lead a hunting and gathering way of life. The main concentrations of the latter are in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (3,000) and in western Ngamiland (1,600).

The Batwa of the Lake Chrissie area have been working on European farms for nearly a century (Potgieter and Ziervogel 1955:3). The Bushmen in the Gemsbok Park are a major tourist attraction, but may do some hunting.

In Rhodesia, the Bushmen in the Wankie area are all

162 working on farms. Many of the Pandamatenga Bushmen work in
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464 Victoria Falls and Livingstone. Some have gone as far afield
648 as Lusaka and Salisbury looking for work. The Kwengo Bushmen
224 of Barotseland no longer maintain a hunting way of life.
(Clark, personal communication). Their numbers are estimated
at 200.

161 This tally of Bushmen hunter-gatherers gives a total of
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224 9,300 against an overall total of 44,100 Bushmen. Twenty
222 percent of the Bushmen hunting full time seems a much more
[114] reasonable proportion than Tobias' 64 percent. It is unlikely
that a change of such magnitude could have occurred between
the date of his census (1956) and the present one (1964).

162 The figure of 9,300 is nevertheless quite substantial
224
222 and indicates the remarkable persistance of the hunting-
178 gathering way of life in spite of the fact that even the most
isolated of the hunting tribes maintain close contact with
184 their European and Bantu neighbors. A large proportion of
[221] the /Gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve spend
[648]
part of the dry season squatting on European farms adjacent
[312] to their area. In the north the hunting !Kung often share
[464] their waterholes with Bantu cattle herders. Most of the
[233] young !Kung men spend a year or more working as cattle herds
on a contract basis.

000 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had

101 appelation "!Kung". They said it was a term of opprobrium used of them by the Bantu.

The southern division !Kung were the first of the tribe to appear in the ethnographic literature. They are described by Baines (1864) and Chapman (1868) as "Ma'kow'kow". Later workers have called them ≠Auin (Kaufmann 1910), //kau//en (Bleek 1928), ≠Ao-//ẽin (Fourie 1928), Makaukau, and Auen (Schapera 1930). All these forms appear to be corruptions of the name ≠d"au//ae, which is currently in use among the Bushmen of the Ghanzi District. This is the Nharo name for the !Kung Bushmen; it means literally "north side" and reflects the fact that the !Kung have traditionally been the northern neighbors of the Nharo. The !Kung commonly apply this label to themselves, saying "we are the ≠d"au//ae (north side) people".

[197] [184] Since all three groups, calling themselves !Kũ, zũ/wãsi, and ≠d"au//ae, respectively, speak dialects of the same language, and since the latter two groups maintain a sense of ethnic identity through the name relation it is recommended that the name !Kung be adopted as the tribal appelation. It is the easiest of the three names to pronounce and it has had the widest currency in the literature.

[184] [224] [222] Of the three geographical divisions of !Kung, full time independent hunters and gatherers are found only among the central group.

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Kuangari	in South West Africa
Bunja	
Sambiu	
Djiriku	
Mbukushu	in South West Africa and B. P.
Bayei	in B. P.
Batawana	
Herero	

[621] These !Kung may live in independent villages near a
[224] Bantu kraal and devote much of their time to hunting and
[222] gathering, or they may be incorporated into the compounds of
[464] their protectors and work as domestic servants and farm hands.
However, all of these Bantu-associated !Kung are in contact
131 with groups of more independent !Kung living inland. Ties
184 of real and fictive kinship and marriage link the river
602 dwelling !Kung with the !Kung of the dry interior. The loca-
582 tion of these non-!Kung peoples is shown in Map 6, p. 34.

131 Map 7 illustrates how the European and Bantu-associated !Kung form a ring of population around the peripheries of the northwest Kalahari. These settled areas enclose an interior of about 25,000 square miles, one third of which is in Bechuanaland and two thirds in South West Africa. Most of

III. THE DOBE AREA: ITS PEOPLES AND HISTORY

131 Dobe, a small waterhole on the South West Africa/
[114] Bechuanaland border, ninety miles west of Nokaneng, B.P.,
was the location of the author's main field camp. The term,
"Dobe area", as used in this report refers to the country
[312] within a thirty mile radius of the Dobe well. This includes
the eleven permanent waterholes which support the entire
population of Bushmen and Bantu in the Bechuanaland sector
[224] of the !Kung interior. The Dobe area also includes a large
[222] tract of ground in South West Africa where Bechuanaland
Bushmen traditionally go to hunt and gather. It does not
include the Nyae Nyae pans, /gam and Tsumkwe in South West
Africa, or the more distant waterholes at n!aun!au, at
!audum, or at Tsodilo Hills in Bechuanaland (see Map 8).

Dobe is not the cultural or administrative center of the settlements of the interior !Kung. On the contrary, Dobe is the most isolated of the waterholes on the Bechuanaland side. The term "Dobe area" is applied here simply as a matter of convenience.

To reach the Dobe area by truck, one drives west from the Batawana town of Nokaneng which is situated on the western edge of the Okavango swamps. After traversing uninhabited country for 67 miles the traveller arrives at

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464 attached to an independent camp were living with the Bantu.
[233]
[162] These working Bushmen, with their spouses and families, numbered 44 people.

The Batawana headman, Isak Utuhile, was the only one of the Bantu residents to maintain a staff of retainers and their families. This sort of benevolent feudalism is a common practice throughout the Tswana tribal areas of Bechuanaland (Schapera 1953:28; Tagart 1933) but, with this one exception, [162] is absent in the Dobe area. The headman supports four assistants (including a uniformed Bushman police constable) and their families, a total of 13 people.

Finally there was an Ad Hoc grouping of 26 !Kung who lived at the kraal of Enamoharadi, a Herero woman at Mahopa. These people lacked a territorial nucleus and therefore could [224] not be considered as an independent camp. Several !Kung [222] women helped with the domestic duties but the majority chose [262] to use Mahopa as a base of operations for hunting and gathering and to drink the milk of Enamoharadi's cattle when it was offered to them.

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648 Except for the women who are married to Bantu, most of the !Kung remain only temporarily in Bantu villages, for periods ranging from one month to two years. Also it was observed that most of the !Kung living with Bantu spent at least half the year hunting and gathering. Furthermore many

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648 The Bushman residents of Bechuanaland, however, were not
immediately affected by these restrictions. They continued
to hunt and gather on the South West side and to visit their
kinsmen at localities in the Nyae Nyae area.

648 The period of European presence, 1960-1965 - In 1960, the
177 South African Government put into operation its plan to
civilize the !Kung Bushmen of the interior. A government
station was set up at Tsumkwe where a borehole was sunk. Mr.
C. V. McIntyre, the Bushman Affairs Commissioner, took up
residence at Tsumkwe. The !Kung Bushmen from Nyae Nyae were
[241] ingathered and provided with rations of maize meal. After
they had been settled around the borehole a program was
initiated to teach them agriculture. Because of a series of
drought years this program has not met with success.

[162] By 1964, over 800 !Kung Bushmen had been settled at
Tsumkwe. Less than 50 of these people had come from the
[178] Bechuanaland side. It is not clear why the Bechuanaland
[162] !Kung have not participated in this program to a greater
[224] extent, but the fact remains that over 350 !Kung continue to
[222] hunt and gather in the Dobe area and seem to indicate no
intention of moving to Tsumkwe.[1]

648 The latest development in the political situation in

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[1] Some B.P. Bushmen insist that they were refused permission to live at Tsumkwe. Others say they fear to go there.

825 262 Fifth are species that are eaten only by old women for whom the food taboos of adult life have been lifted:

lion
leopard
jackal
caracul
zebra

Sixth is a species that is eaten only by ritual curers for magical purposes:

cape polecat (zorilla)

Finally there are seven species that are universally tabooed. These include the carnivorous species that are said to eat people:

spotted hyena
wild dog
brown hyena
wild cat

as well as three species of primates that the Bushmen say are close relatives of man:

vervet monkey
galago
baboon

825 262 224 The small mammals, such as rodents, bats, and squirrels, are not hunted or eaten. The Bushmen said that no taboos were associated with these species. However, these species were not worth killing because each carried only a few ounces of meat. Occasionally squirrels that are found dead or accidentally caught in snares are fed to the dogs.

The important point in terms of food resources is that

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224 all hunters may hunt every species regardless of whether a given species is personally tabooed.

In actual practice only ten species of mammal were consistently hunted by the Dobe area Bushmen. These are: kudu, wildebeeste, gemsbok, steenbok, duiker, wart hog, antbear, porcupine, springhare, and common hare.

In addition to the above a further ten species were observed to be occasionally killed and eaten. These include:

pangolin
genet
aardwolf
slender mongoose
caracul
bat-eared fox
honey badger
cheetah
jackal
cape polecat

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262 The Bushmen generally consider the meat of herbivorous mammals as the most desirable food. The meat of insectivorous mammals such as antbear, pangolin and bat-eared fox is less highly prized. The meat of carnivores is generally undesirable but nevertheless eaten by at least some people, when it is available. At the bottom of the list of preferences is the meat of hyena and wild dog. The Bushman explanation is that since these species eat people, to eat their meat is indirectly an act of cannibalism.

[224] There is evidence of regional and historical variation in the species systematically hunted by the !Kung of the

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224 central interior. John Marshall found that most of the meat brought in by the Nyae Nyae area hunters was from the large ungulates such as wildebeeste, eland and gemsbok. Small mammals such as springhare were rarely hunted (1957, and personal communication). By contrast, the most frequent kills in the Dobe area were the smaller animals: springhare, steenbok and duiker, whereas the killing of a large antelope was a rare and great event. Giraffe and eland were not hunted by the men of the Dobe area.

[173] The older Bushmen state that in the early days there were more game animals and more Bushmen in the central interior and that their forefathers used to hunt in large groups, killing giraffe, buffalo and even elephant.

At present, the most important single source of meat in the Bushman diet is wart hog. It was not the most frequent mammal killed. Springhare, steenbok and duiker were all killed more frequently than wart hog. But the southern African wart hog weighs about 170 lbs., whereas the springhare weighs only 7-1/2 lbs, the steenbok, 25 lbs., and the duiker 43 lbs. At the Dobe camp wart hog were killed at the rate of three per month throughout the study period. The edible portion of each carcass is about 50%. Therefore wart hog provided a regular supply of c. 255 lbs. of meat per month to the members of the Dobe camp.

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224 Steenbok and duiker were the next in importance because of the frequency with which they were killed, especially during the winter when they were systematically trapped and during late spring when the young could be easily run down on foot.

Springhare were the most frequent animal killed. The 7-1/2 lb. carcass has a high percentage of edible meat (60%) and the killing rate in some seasons was as high as 10 per week.

It is difficult to evaluate the large antelopes, kudu, wildebeeste, and gemsbok in terms of their dietary importance because they were rarely killed. A hunter who had killed five large antelopes in a year was considered to be above average. Most of the hunters killed one or two per year, Even a single kill, however, provides a massive return in meat. The average dead weights[1] of these species are:

kudu (M)	600 lbs.
kudu (F)	350 lbs.
gemsbok (M)	444 lbs.
gemsbok (F)	514 lbs.
wildebeeste (M)	550 lbs.
wildebeeste (F)	450 lbs.

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[1] All the mammal weights quoted in this study were provided by Reay Smithers (personal communications).

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By killing one male kudu (600 lbs.) with a weight 24 times greater than that of a steenbok (25 lbs.) a hunter would provide his camp with a quantity of meat roughly equivalent to that provided by 20 steenbok (assuming that the kudu has a somewhat lower ratio of edible to inedible parts than does a steenbok).

[628] On the face of it, hunting large antelope would appear to have overwhelming advantages in terms of meat. However, when news of such a kill reaches neighboring camps, dozens of friends and relatives descend upon the killer's camp to assist him in disposing of the meat. Thus at the end of several jovial days the superabundance of meat disappears and the fortunate hunter is out looking for meat again. The killing of a large antelope therefore has more prestige value than nutritional value to the family of the man who killed it.

This pattern of sharing large kills beyond the boundaries of a camp is ecologically adaptive because meat spoils quickly, especially during the rainy season and it is often necessary to eat meat that is in danger of becoming rotten.

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The Bushmen know how to make biltong (dried strips of meat) but rarely do this. This infrequency of making biltong is probably both a cause and an effect of sharing meat widely. The only part of a large antelope kill that is consistently set aside for future consumption is the hide. This part of

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[251] the animal evidently has much better storage properties than the flesh.

In general, the larger the animal killed, the more widely its meat is shared. The meat of springhare, hare, steenbok, and duiker is usually consumed by the hunter's immediate family. The meat of wart hog, antbear and porcupine is [628] shared out among the members of a hunter's camp. The meat of kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok is shared out among the hunter's camp and among members of neighboring camps.

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223 Birds - The eating of birds again illustrates the selective food tastes of the Bushmen. Of the 75 species of birds recorded only eight species were said to be eaten and of these only four species were observed to be systematically hunted. The four important game birds were:

crowned quinea fowl
Swainson's francolin
red-billed francolin
red-crested korhaan

The other birds eaten were:

Kori bustard
Cape turtledove
double-banded sandgrouse
red-billed teal

Snares were regularly set in order to capture guinea fowl, francolin and korhaan. Occasionally other birds triggered the snares. Usually these other species were fed to the dogs. Occasionally they were simply discarded.

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825 Only the eggs of the above eight species appeared to be

VI. ORGANIZATION AND TECHNOLOGY OF SUBSISTENCE

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462 There is a basic division of labor between the sexes: the men are hunters of game and the women gatherers of plant foods. The men, however, do combine gathering with hunting. For instance, if no game has been killed on a hunt the men will gather some vegetable food as they return at the end of the day so that they will not come home empty-handed. The organization of work is simple. The sexes are almost always segregated in food-getting activities. Typically the women of a camp will go out in groups of three to five, with a well-defined objective of which species they want to collect. They spend thé day or part of it working over an area and return to the camp each evening with their food. They never remain out overnight.

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462 The hunting groups of the men are smaller than the collecting groups of women. Typically two men will go out hunting together, but frequently an individual will go hunting alone. More rarely groups of three or four men go out. Hunting groups of five or more men were never observed during the study period. The Bushmen feel that too many participants spoil the hunt. The men very rarely stay out overnight. Even if they have shot an antelope in the afternoon they return to the main camp to sleep and early the next morning set out to

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[222] track the animal to the place where it has died. All the Dobe area Bushmen consistently hunted and collected within a 15-20 mile radius of their camps. Hunting trips of 3-10 days duration have been recorded in the literature on !Kung (e.g. L. Marshall 1960:331), but these extended trips were not a feature in the Dobe area.

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462 The contrast in technology between the hunting equipment of the men and the gathering equipment of the women is striking. Only three elementary tools are required for the complete range of gathering tasks. On the other hand, the hunting kits consist of at least 19 complex weapons and devices, with sophisticated methods of manufacture and maintenance.

222 The three gathering tools are the kaross, the digging stick and the nut-cracking stones. With only these three items, a softened antelope hide, a sharpened stick, and a pair of unimproved rocks, the entire gamut of plant foods [291] can be exploited. The kaross is the most important of the three. This is a one-piece combination garment-cum-carrying-device made from the hide of a gemsbok, kudu or wildebeeste. [281] The raw hide is dried, the edges are trimmed and the hide is softened by a tanning agent from the plant *Elephantorhiza burkei*. The resulting garment is worn by the women draped [482] over the back. When tied at the waist by a leather thong,

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222 482 the lower half of the kaross conceals the wearer's backside [291] while the upper half forms a pouch for carrying vegetable foods (as well as water containers, firewood and babies).

Since most of the Bushman foods are nuts and berries, ranging in size from 1/2 to 1-1/2 inches in diameter, and hundreds of these small foods make up a family's daily diet, Bushman life would not be possible without some means of carrying quantities of these small foods back to the camp or "home base". One cannot overstate the importance of the food-carrying device for Bushman life, and for the life of hunting and gathering peoples in general. This, I think, has implications for the evolution of human subsistence during the Pleistocene since a device for carrying vegetable foods would seem to be a prerequisite for human camp life.

222 412 The digging stick is secondary in importance to the kaross because all but one of the major Bushman foods are nuts, berries and melons which do not have to be dug out of the ground. The typical digging stick is three feet long, three quarters of an inch in diameter and sharpened into a blade at one end. It is made from the thick straight stalks of the bushes of the genera Dichrostachys and Grewia. It [224] is not weighted by a bored stone. Apart from its obvious use for digging out edible roots and bulbs, the digging stick also plays an important role in mens' hunting activities.

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412 Four of the ten important game species (wart hog, antbear, porcupine, and springhare) live in underground burrows and it is often necessary after running an animal to ground for the hunter to excavate to the burrow in order to retrieve the [482] carcass. The men also use the digging stick as a carrying yoke on which to bring home game.

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222 The third tool is a pair of nut-cracking stones. Without these it would be impossible to exploit the abundant mongongo nut (Ricinodendron) as food because of its extremely hard shell. Any reasonably hard stone may be used including the locally abundant limestone cobbles. The hammerstone is fist-sized and no flakes are struck off. The anvil stone may be any size and shape up to a weight of fifteen pounds. Neither of these stones is improved in any way and only the pecking marks show evidence of human use. The nut is held on the anvil stone between the fingertips of the left hand. With the hammerstone one delivers two to five sharp and dextrous blows which are sufficient to open the nut.

Through the generations, pairs of these stones have become distributed throughout the nut forests of the Dobe area. It is only occasionally necessary for a woman to carry her own cracking stones from one camp to another.

It may be useful to re-examine the Stone Age lithic assemblages with the nut-cracking stones in mind.

412 The women possess several other tools which are of subsidiary importance in the food quest:

- wooden mortar and pestle
- wooden spatula for moving ashes
- carved wooden serving spoon
- tortoise shell bowl
- bundle of tail feathers for fanning the cooking fire
- pottery containers of Bantu manufacture
- 415 iron pots and enamel bowls of European manufacture.

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The mens' hunting kit represents the most evolved sector of Bushmen technology. It includes at least 19 different tools made from seven kinds of raw materials. The primary weapons include:

[177] 1. bow
[278] 2. arrow poison
[231] 3. spear
4. springhare probe
5. knobkerrie(club)
6. iron tipped arrows
7. quiver
8. hunting dogs
9. rope snares

Secondary weapons include:

[312] 10. fire drill
[177] 11. flint and steel fire making kits
[412]
[283] 12. digging stick
[177] 13. .iron knife
14. iron adze-axe
15. carrying yoke
16. knotted net

Manufacturing and repairing tools include:

[278] 17. poison-making kit; humeral cup, pestle, applicator

[415] 18. whet stones of basalt

[283] 19. wild cotton for polishing rope snares

These raw materials are also part of the man's kit:

[283] 1. sinew

2. twine of natural fibers

3. iron fencing wire

[278] 4. supply of poisonous grubs

[237] 5. bone chips for making arrow link shafts

[410] 6. grass stems for arrows

7. wood for bows, poles and spear shafts

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411 The construction of the hunting arrow will illustrate the complexity of the weaponry. The arrow consists of a mainshaft about 13 inches in length made from the stem of the grass Phraqmites communis (Story 1964:94). Into this is inserted a bone linkshaft about two inches long, carved from the humerus or femur of giraffe, kudu, or gemsbok. The linkshaft is joined to the metal arrowhead by a hollow section of grass stem one inch in length. [177] The arrow head is commonly made from iron fencing wire. It consists of a stiff length of wire four to five inches long. The tip of the arrow is beaten into a small triangular blade one half inch from base to apex and five-sixteenths of an inch at the base.

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411 The butt end of the arrow and the two joints are bound by
strands of sinew. In some arrows the iron shaft itself is
224 bound with sinew. It is the iron shaft to which the arrow
411 poison is applied. Care is taken to avoid spreading poison
278 on the tip of the arrow. The poison is obtained from the
pupal forms of the Chrysomelid beetles *Diamphidia* sp. and
[415] *Polyclada* sp. The poison is prepared by squeezing the contents of several pupae into a cup made from the proximal end of the humerus of a large antelope such as gemsbok or kudu. The only additions to the poison mixture observed to be used were saliva and the juice or gum of the several species of *Acacia*. The use of the latter was optional. Often, without further preliminaries, the Bushmen squeezed the contents of the grub directly on to the iron arrow shaft.

[412] The pupae are mixed with a slender wooden pestle into a thin orange paste, which is then applied directly to the iron arrow shaft using a spatulate applicator especially made for this purpose. The poisoned arrow is then allowed to dry near the fire. After a few minutes it is ready for use.

There are undoubtedly regional variations in the preparation of arrow poison. The ethnographic literature lists at least a dozen substances and recipes that are claimed to be used by the !Kung Bushmen in preparing arrow poison (see Shaw et al. 1963, Story 1964:93).

000 Shaw et al. 1963, Story 1964:93).

224 The !Kung weaponry consists of specialized weapons for
411 killing, retrieving, and preparing different species of game.
The bow and arrow are used to kill only the large antelopes,
kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok. The thirteen-foot-long
burrow probe is used exclusively for hooking springhare
[223] which sleep in their burrows during the day time. Rope snares
are set to trap small buck such as duiker and steenbok, as
well as the game birds such as guinea fowl, francolin and
224 korhaan. Fire is used in two ways. First it is used to smoke
372 out or asphyxiate wart hog, antbear and porcupine that have
[412] been cornered in burrows. If an animal dies in the burrow,
it is then dug out by means of a digging stick. Fire is also
used during late winter to set bush fires. These fires burn
off the old cover of vegetation and encourage new growth
which will attract game animals to the burned area.

224 The spear is not used as a weapon of attack, but is
411 employed to finish off animals that have been weakened by
[231] poisoned arrows or that have been wounded by the Bushmen dogs.

The knobkerrie(club) is also used to finish off wounded
[223] or cornered animals. Occasionally it is used as a throwing
[231] club to knock down small birds and squirrels. This appears
to be more of a pastime than a serious technique since the
animals knocked down this way are usually fed to the dogs or
just cast aside.

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The pack of hunting dogs is perhaps the most important weapon at the disposal of the hunters. Most men own one or more dogs, but few men have developed and trained an effective hunting pack. The possession of such a pack gives a hunter a considerable advantage in killing. A good pack may number only three dogs. Often two men will pool their dogs and make a temporary pack of four or five dogs. The dogs are the crucial factor in the successful hunting of wart hog. They can run a wart hog to ground where it can be smoked out at the hunter's leisure or they may bring a hog to bay on the surface, attacking and harassing it until the hunter can close in with his spear.

The dogs are equally important in the hunting of steenbok and duiker. A good pack may often run ahead of a hunter and attack and kill the quarry before the hunter has arrived on the scene. This is the most common way that the immature of steenbok, duiker, and wart hog are killed. The dogs are generally helpful in tracking all game where their sense of smell supplements the hunters' remarkable visual acuity. The typical Bushman dog is a small animal (twenty inches tall at the shoulder) of undistinguished appearance. It is a shorthaired breed varying in color from black to buff with many piebald forms. The blood lines are difficult to trace. According to Brian Fagan (personal

224 communication), there were no domesticated dogs in the South
231 African Later Stone Age until the arrival of the Bantu. It
[174] is not possible to say at present when dogs were introduced into !Kung Bushmen culture. The !Kung themselves say that they have had dogs "since time began".

Data on the hunting success of seven men of the Dobe winter camp will illustrate the importance of dogs in hunting. In July, 1964, during a four week period the seven men of the camp spent a total of seventy-nine man days hunting. Between them they killed a total of eighteen animals. The estimated total weight in meat of these eighteen kills was approximately 434 pounds. Six of the men lacked good hunting dogs. These men accounted for 110 pounds of meat or 25% of the total. The seventh man was the only one with a good hunting pack. With his dogs he killed the remaining 75% of the meat (324 pounds) including four adult wart hog.

[184] Considering the importance of dogs in Dobe area hunting it is interesting that dogs were not used for hunting by the Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae area (J. Marshall 1957; and personal communication).

224 Finally there were several limited techniques that required no specialized equipment. Occasionally men run down immature animals on foot. These are dispatched with a club of any handy piece of wood. Also, on occasion, the men

222 Also, on occasion, the men
262 scavenge meat from carnivore kills. If the day's hunt has
224 been unsuccessful a man may hack a piece of dried hide from a kill that may be several weeks old. Or, if several men are hunting together they may drive the lesser scavengers such as vultures and hyenas off a fresh kill. Scavenging is not a regular practice. It occurs only if the opportunity presents itself and if there is no other meat forthcoming.

361 Each of the groups moves in a "direction" from its waterhole.
312 For instance, the Dobe people move to the west and north,
the !angwa people move to the northwest, and the !gose people
move to the east.

361 The concept of territoriality as applied to the Bushmen differs from the concept used by zoologists in discussing the spatial arrangements of animals. The zoological usage refers to the exclusive use of space, by an organism or group of organisms who defend this space against competing members of the same species (Bourlière 1964:94-100).

By contrast the Bushmen groups do not defend boundaries and members of all groups travel freely between camps. However, land utilization is not at all a random phenomenon.
[222] The Bushmen population is organized into land-holding units,
[224] and the members of a unit tend to spend the greater part of
the year hunting and gathering within a specific area.

Thus, in the context of this study, the term "territory" refers to the area within which an independent camp moves during the annual subsistence cycle.

361 The locations and spatial configurations of territories
824 are determined by the distribution of water and food resources.
[312] Each territory has within it a permanent waterhole, one or
more seasonal water sources, and one or more mongongo nut
forests. Every territory includes, in addition, a selection

312 at the waterholes consists primarily of roots and bulbs of the
221 genera: Eulophia, Vigna, Walleria, and Coccinia, and the edible
824 sap of Acacia spp. and Terminalia sericea. It is this time of
year that the heart of the dwarf vegetable ivory palm is eaten,
[164] (Hyphaene). Those who eat its fibrous pulp experience stomach
cramps and diarrhea, but, as the Bushmen say, it make one's
"mouth work" and gives one a sensation of a full stomach.
221 Hunting is arduous business in the heat and men who go out in
224 the early morning find it necessary to spend the mid-day hours
resting in the shade. The principal animal killed is the
springhare.

132 The first rains are convectional thundershowers. Their distribution is spotty. A storm may briefly inundate one area and miss entirely another area only a mile away.

312 The Bushmen observe the storm clouds travelling across
222 the horizon and try to judge where the showers have drenched
[821] the ground. They then set out in family groups in the direction of the rains. If they find that water has collected in the hollows of mongongo trees, they will stay in the nut groves for several days and eat nuts until the water is exhausted. They then fill their karosses with nuts and return to the permanent water. If, on reaching the nut groves, they find that no water has collected they will be forced to fill their karosses with nuts and return to camp the same day. In certain areas

824 is not eaten. Next is a casing of granular-textured fruit
262 which is eaten. The fruit encloses the nut itself. This consists of a thick outer shell which must be cracked open with the nut-cracking stones. Within the thick shell is a softer inner shell which encloses the nut kernel which is the staple of the Bushman diet. This inner kernel is "packaged" within four protective layers and this explains its remarkable storage properties.

824 In the late summer and autumn months the Bushmen eat
252 large quantities of both the fruit and the nut. First the women boil potfuls of whole fruit in order to separate the outer flesh from the hard shell. The flesh of the fruit produces a delicious fruit puree that tastes like stewed prunes. After the fruit is eaten, the nuts themselves are set aside for later cracking and eating.

184 The summer hunting situation appears to vary from camp
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224 to camp. At the !Gausa camp very little hunting was done.
[177] The resident men assisted the Bantu in cattle herding and they
[248] received calabashes of sour milk as payment. At Characharaha
[464] the men hunted more, killing gemsbok, python and porcupine. At one summer camp, Mokoro, where there were no Bantu resident, two young men killed four large buck in the space of one month (two kudu and two gemsbok). This Mokoro camp was an
[177] unusually successful one. The availability of cows' milk and meat no doubt lessens the men's incentive for hunting

221 Winter is the snareline season. Each hunter who is
• 224 wintering in his home territory starts to build his snarelines in May and continues to refine and improve the lines
224 until the end of August when they are abandoned. The snareline is built up as follows: the hunters of a camp agree beforehand where each man will set up his lines. A man surveys his snaring area for fresh tracks of steenbok which is the major animal snared. He gradually lays down an unobtrusive line of brush 600 to 900 feet long. The line zigzags from bush to bush until by degrees he closes off a tract of ground with a brush barrier. The object of this operation is to habituate the animals to cross his line at a limited number of gaps. Each day he inspects his line for fresh tracks. If the animals are breaching his line regularly at one gap, he then sets a rope snare in the gap.

The snare consists of a 3 foot length of rope, at one end of which is a noose. This noose is spread apart on the ground by a series of pegs. The center of the noose has a trigger. When the forefoot of an antelope falls within the noose the trigger is released. The other end of the noose is tied to a trimmed sapling. The sapling is bent in a taut arc. The animal crossing the gap steps into the noose and releases the trigger. When the trigger is released the sapling snaps back sharply and the noose tightens around the animal's foot.

224 The snared animal is not injured. It hangs suspended on the rope and struggles to break free, but if the hunter has tied his knots well he will arrive on his daily inspection to find the snared buck thrashing around the sapling. He then dispatches the buck with a club or spear, repairs the damage to the brush fence, and resets the snare.

At the height of the snaring season each hunter will have three lines in operation. Each line will have 7-9 gaps set with snares. The Dobe camp hunters who had set 20-25 separate snares averaged one small animal per hunter per week throughout the winter. A hunter's success in snaring depends upon his interpretation of game tracks and the patience with which he habituates the animals to crossing his lines where he wants them to. The hunters operate snarelines only in the winter because at other times of the year both the hunters and the quarry are ranging farther into the desert and the men do not remain long enough at one camp to build and maintain the snarelines.

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[231] In addition to the snarelines, the hunters carry out a full range of hunting activities including big game hunting with poison arrows, hunting wart-hog with dogs, and probing burrows for springhare, porcupine and antbear.

Table 7 lists all the kills made by the hunters of the Dobe camp during the 28 day period from 6 July to 2 August 1964.

TABLE 7

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The kills made by the hunters of the Dobe camp during a 28-day period (6 July to 2 August 1964).

Date	Hunter	Species	Technique	estimated weight of meat
July				
7.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80 lbs.
7.	≠oma//gwe	steenbok	snare	12
9.	/ase	steenbok	snare	12
17.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80
20.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80
20.	≠oma//gwe	honey badger	snare	10
20.	≠oma//gwe	python	collected	20
21.	/ase	steenbok	snare	12
23.	n≠eysin!a	steenbok	snare	12
23.	≠oma//gwe	hare	snare	3
24.	≠oma	bat-eared fox	with dogs	4
27.	/ase	hare	snare	3
27.	≠gau	korhaan	snare	2
27.	n≠eysin!a	korhaan	snare	2
28.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80
29.	≠oma//gwe	kori bustard	snare	10
30.	n≠eysin!a	steenbok	snare	12
31.	/ase	porcupine	cornered in burrow	20
				454 lbs.[1]

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[628] [1] In addition to the meat from these 18 kills, the Dobe Bushmen received gifts of meat from other camps. The weight of meat from these outside sources is estimated at 36 lbs. Therefore, the total meat eaten at Dobe was around 490 lbs.

224 [162] [361] There were nine adult men resident at this camp but only seven did any hunting. The eighth man was blind and the ninth was crippled. The seven hunters were n≠eysin!a (60 yrs.) and his son ≠oma (35 yrs.); ≠oma//gwe (65 yrs.) and his three sons /ase (40 yrs.), ≠gau (35 yrs.), and n≠eysi (27 yrs.); and ≠gaun!a (40 yrs.), the son-in-law of n≠eysin!a.

[231] The most successful hunter, ≠oma (35 yrs.), hunted 16/28 days and killed four wart hogs and a bat-eared fox, all killed with the aid of dogs. Next was /ase (40 yrs), who hunted nine days. He snared two steenbok and a hare and killed a porcupine by cornering it in its burrow and digging it out.

Then there were the two old men both of whom hunted 16 days each. ≠oma//gwe snared a steenbok, a honey badger, a hare and a kori bustard, and collected a python. N≠eysin!a snared two steenbok.

Old ≠oma//gwe's two younger sons hunted nine and eight days, respectively. The older of the two, ≠gau, snared one korhaan; the youngest son, n≠eysi, also snared one korhaan.

Finally old n≠eysin!a's son-in-law, ≠gaun!a, hunted four days but killed nothing.

[146] The seven men hunted a total of 79 man-days and killed 18 animals; the total weight of meat is estimated at 454 lbs. In addition, they received gifts of meat from other camps

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146 totalling 36 lbs. This meat (490 lbs.) went to feed a camp of 42 people (exclusive of visitors).

A rough calculation of the weight of meat per person per day through this 28-day period gives a figure of 6-2/3 oz. of meat. The daily intake of vegetable foods per person during the same period can be estimated at 24 oz. (of mongongo nuts and various roots). Therefore a reasonable estimate of the ratio of meat to vegetables in the diet of this camp is 25%-75%.

This ratio is based on observations at one camp during [114] one season only. It can be said, however, that George Silberbauer, Laurence and Lorna Marshall, and the author are in general agreement that meat comprises between 20% and 40% by weight of the Bushman diet (Silberbauer, 1965:28; Marshalls, personal communication).

5. Late Winter

221 There is a well-defined break point in the winter subsistence cycle between the early period (May, June and July) of relative abundance and the late winter and spring period
221 of increasing food scarcity (August-September). Through the
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462 early winter the Bushmen concentrate on the mongongo nut groves that are within a day's walk of permanent water. Groups of women go out once every three or four days, fill their karosses with nuts and return to the camp in the evening. The men

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222 during this period concentrate on tending their snarelines.
[462] Gradually the distance to the nuts increases as a wider and
[224] wider radius of nuts becomes eaten out. For instance, by
the end of July there were no nuts within seven miles of the
Dobe waterhole, and a day's collecting became a major under-
taking. In order to reach the nuts, the women had to set
out early in the morning and walk for 2-1/2 hours. In the nut
forest they had to work for two hours to fill their karosses
[482] with nuts. On the return journey each woman was heavily
loaded with c. 30 lbs. of whole nuts and the distance back to
camp took 3-1/2 hours to cover. Thus on a late July collecting
trip, the women would have to walk at least 14 miles to and
from the nuts, plus another two miles in the nut forests,
stooping and collecting. This adds up to eight hours of hard
work in one day.

At this point, the effort required to gather mongongo nuts begins to outweigh the satisfaction derived from eating nuts and one observed a sharp decline in nut collecting in favor of the less desirable foods of classes II, III and IV. These latter foods had the advantage of being locally abundant in the vicinity of the permanent waterholes.

This transition from nuts to other foods occurred at Dobe
[184] at the end of July (in 1964). At :gose, where the nut forests
are much denser, the gatherers continued their daily trips

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because it entailed two consecutive days of hardhiking on short water rations. The object of such a trip was to get to the nuts and back again as quickly as possible, before the physiological deficit of water was allowed to reduce efficiency.

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The general object of the winter nutting trips was to remain at the nut forests just long enough to eat a really substantial quantity of nuts (about 400 nuts per adult). This marathon meal starts the moment that the Bushmen arrive at the nut camps and continues throughout their stay. It is interrupted for short periods when the Bushmen go out to collect nuts in the vicinity of their temporary camp. [539] There is a Bushman saying that aptly applies to this situation: "It is better to carry food home in your stomach than on your back."

[224] Hunting rarely occurs at these overnight camps. The efforts of men and women alike are directed to eating as many nuts as possible in a short time.

[312] The most important variation in the late winter and spring subsistence tactics centers on the use of Fockea monroi as a source of water. This will be discussed below.

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6. Early Spring

August is the last month of winter. The last of the freezing nights occurs at the first of the month and these are followed by warmer nights in the 40's and 50's and daily

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484 location closer to the nuts. By 7:00 a.m. this camp had been
312 deserted. The women and their children had gone to collect
[462] nuts and the men had set out to find Fockea roots and to hunt
• [224] along the way. The men carried no water with them on the
hunt. The author accompanied the men.

We walked south for several miles looking for fresh animal tracks and for patches of Fockea plants. We passed through two molapos where the Fockea plants were likely to exist, but to our disappointment we found none. It was 10:00 a.m. before we dug out the first Fockea of the day.
[132] By this time the morning coolness had disappeared and we had
to walk and dig in the sun with shade temperatures about
312 100°F. The first Fockea worth digging were found 4-1/2 miles
824 south of our camp at !wi/wama. The roots were the size of a
football and weighed about three pounds.

The flesh of Fockea is white and juicy with a spongy granular texture. The juice is milky in color and slightly astringent so that it smarts when accidentally rubbed into small cuts on the hands. There are two methods of extracting the moisture from the root. First, one cuts open the root with a knife and chops off chunks of the flesh inside. This may be eaten directly like watermelon. The disadvantage of this method is that one must swallow about three pounds of roughage in order to extract one pint of moisture; in other

312 824 words, 15 lbs. of roughage per day for the minimum water requirment. This is the most efficient means of processing water from *Fockea* roots because the digestive system can convert all the moisture that is in the *Fockea* flesh.

However, the Bushmen say (and I can corroborate this) that a man cannot swallow 15 pounds of pulp per day. The stomach becomes full long before one's thirst is quenched. It is probable also that such a great quantity of roughage would put an intolerable burden on the human digestive system, even of people whose digestive systems are accustomed to processing quantities of fibrous roughage.

The more common way of extracting moisture from the root is to squeeze the juice out by hand. The juice may be squeezed directly into the mouth, or squeezed into a cup and then drunk. This is a less efficient way of extracting moisture because much of the juice remains in the fibers after squeezing. Also some of the juice runs down the arms. It does offer a distinct psychological advantage, however, because one is able to drink the juice and thus satisfy the swallowing reflex which is connected with the neurophysiological sensation of thirst (Ladell 1958). Eating the flesh of *Fockea* does not satisfy this sensation.

484 224 [312] [824] The men continued to eat and drink *Fockea* from 10:00 a.m. to 12:20 p.m. Then we started to hunt in a northerly direction.

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[222] No game were seen except for a solitary female ostrich. We tracked her to her nest and collected her clutch of nine eggs. Each of the eggs was pounded in the sand to separate the amnion from the inside of the shell. This apparently kills the embryo inside the egg. These nine eggs were divided among the three of us. We then dug out four large Fockea roots intact, and we returned to the camp at 2:30 p.m. after a hike of nine miles.

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312 The women of the camp had spent the early part of the morning collecting nuts and Fockea and the rest of the day sitting in the shade cracking nuts and squeezing the Fockea juice. From 2:30 to 4:30 p.m. no one drank any of the water that had been brought the previous day.

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312 At 4:30 p.m. the third man of the camp arrived from Dobe. He brought with him one gallon of water in an enamel milk pail and portions of a dead kudu that he had scavenged from a carnivore kill on the way.

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312 By this time I was experiencing symptoms of heat distress, (fever, lassitude, inability to swallow) and decided to return to Dobe, because my continued presence would become a burden on the camp residents, none of whom, incidentally, showed any signs of heat discomfort.

One of the men, seeing my condition, offered to accompany me back to Dobe with his family. We left at sunset and walked

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824 allows for a wide range of alternatives in subsistence

433 strategy. During the summer months the Bushmen have no problem
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221 other than to choose among the tastiest and most easily collected foods; other species which are quite edible but less attractive are simply bypassed, so that gathering never exhausts all the available foods of an area.

During the dry season, when the fruits and melons have gone, the gatherers still have multiple options open to them. They may plan a hike to the molapos to collect the edible Acacia gums, or they may go to the flats to dig out roots and bulbs. Even at the end of the dry season, when the stronger members of a group are making the long hikes to the mongongo forests, the older, less mobile members can derive an adequate subsistence from an eclectic diet of minor foods which are closer to home.

433 Plants versus Game -- The security of Bushman subsistence
222 derives in part from the fact that meat is of secondary import-
• 224 ance to vegetables in the diet. The !Kung males are persistent, but not particularly successful hunters. Although hunting accounts for over half of the subsistence effort of a camp, meat comprises only 20-40 per cent of the diet. The basis of the Bushman diet is plant food, and meat has come to be regarded as a special treat. When meat is available, it is welcomed as a break from the routine of vegetable foods, but it is never

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224 depended upon as a staple. Strictly speaking, the Bushmen should therefore be regarded as gatherer-hunters rather than hunter-gatherers.

The relative scarcity of game in the Dobe area may be related to the widespread diminution of the large African mammals during historic times. It is worth noting, however, that this diminution of game has not led to the collapse of the Bushman way of life. It is sometimes asserted that the decline of large game has contributed to the extinction of hunting-and-gathering peoples in Africa and elswhere. The evidence from the Dobe area refutes this assertion. The Bushmen there have elaborate and sophisticated methods for capturing smaller mammals, and the meat from these kills serves to supplement a diet primarily based on abundant plant resources. The burden of the evidence from this study suggests that the Dobe area Bushmen do not lead an impoverished way of life.

262 Diet Selectivity -- If the Bushmen were living close to the starvation level, then one would expect them to exploit every available source of nutrition. That their life is well above this level is indicated by the fact that, in a given season, they eat only the most attractive of the vegetable foods, and bypass many other available foods. In their meat eating habits the Bushmen show a similar selectivity. Only a few of the dozens of edible species of small mammals, birds, reptiles, and

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574 before she goes out to gather again. The hunters tend to
462 work more frequently than the gatherers. Typically a man will
● [224] go out on two or three consecutive days and then spend two or three days in camp. Unlike the women, who maintained a consistent gathering routine throughout the year, the hunting activity of the men came in intermittent bursts. It was not unusual for a man to hunt avidly for a week and then do no hunting at all for two weeks. Since hunting was an unpredictable business, and subject to magical control, hunters would sometimes experience a run of bad luck and would stop hunting for a month or longer. For instance, ≠oma, the best hunter of the Dobe camp, did not hunt at all for a three-month period in 1963 because he said that his luck had left him. He remained in camp, apparently awaiting inspiration, while his wife patiently provided food for him. Most of the men of the Dobe camp went through similar periods of inactivity.

883 Non-productive Camp Members -- People who are under twenty
[887] years and over sixty-five years of age contribute very little to the food input of a camp. Young women are not expected to
[582] contribute food until they are married. Girls typically marry
[574] between the ages of fifteen and twenty, so it is not unusual to find healthy, active, teenagers visiting from camp to camp while their older relatives provide food for them. The assumption of adult responsibility by the boys is even more delayed.

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224 A boy does not begin to play-hunt until he is twelve years
old, and seven or eight years may pass before he kills his
first buck, an event which signals his entry into manhood.
[648] Nowadays many adolescent boys spend several years working on
[464] the Bantu cattle posts where they receive clothing and rations.
[582] This interval of work undoubtedly delays their attainment of
social maturity and boys do not normally marry until they
reach their middle twenties. It is significant that, upon
marriage, practically all of the young men return to the camps
and take up hunting as a full time occupation.

888 The aged hold a respected position in Bushman society.
They are the effective as well as the titular leaders of the
camps. The oldest people are fed and cared for by their children
and grandchildren long after their productive years have
888 passed. The blind, the senile and the crippled are held in
734 awe and respect by the Bushmen, because they often possess
special ritual and technical skills. For instance, /wan!a,
the eighty year old female leader of the !gose camps, was
senile and partially blind, but she was recognized as the
leading exponent of the Women's Curing Dance. The two male
elders of the !gose camps were both totally blind, but this
did not prevent their active participation in decision-making
and in ritual curing.

000 It is suggested that the delayed assumption of social

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot

Bushmen FX 10

304 joint is usually removed during childhood, and the custom appears
856 to be associated with some magical belief. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that the joint is cut off with a reed before the child sucks at all, and that the motive underlying the custom is that the child should live to grow up.[1] Other writers add that the operation is performed only on a child whose predecessor has died young, and is intended to protect it from a similar fate.[2] Various other interpretations have been given of the custom, but the one just mentioned
[184] appears to be the most probable. This form of mutilation does not seem to occur to any extent in the Northern tribes. Seiner found it in a few persons among the Kung, but states that it was exceptional,[3] and there is no other record of its occurrence in these tribes.

304 Barrow further mentions that in a large band of Bushmen seen by
[301] him in the midlands of the Cape all the men had a small piece of wood
[136] or porcupine quill inserted through the perforated septum of the nose.[4] This practice is not reported definitely by any of the other writers on the Southern Bushmen, although it is hinted at by Bleek and Lloyd.[5] Hahn, however, speaks of it as occurring in a Bushman tribe in the South-West Kalahari, whom he therefore names "Nasenstockträger",[6] and recently Pöch has published the photograph of a woman from the waterhole/kang in the Southern Kalahari, in which it is seen very clearly.[7]

184 In the majority of Northern Bushmen at the present time, and
304 especially in the North-Western tribes, the most widespread form of
881 mutilation is scarification, which was quite unknown among the tribes
224 south of the Molopo.[8] Small cuts about an inch long are made in the skin, and ash black or other colouring matter is rubbed into the wounds, producing a slight but noticeable scar. In the women they are said to be made mostly for ornament only, on the face, thighs, and buttocks, but among the !O Kung of Angola they are also made in connection with the puberty ceremony for girls. In the men some of the cuts may also be purely ornamental, but many of them are definitely related to social and hunting observances. Thus all Naron, Auen, and Kung have a vertical cut or cuts between the eyebrows,

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[1] Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, p. 17.

[2] Arbousset, loc. cit.; Thompson, loc. cit.

[3] "Bereisung der Omaheke," 290

[4] Op. cit., vol. i, 276.

[5] *Bushman Folklore*, 329.

[6] "Die Buschmänner," 66.

[7] "Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," pl. v, fig. 2.

[8] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 101, 108–9; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 141–2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 245–6; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, *The Naron*, 10–11.

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given to boys at their puberty ceremonies; other cuts are made to ensure good luck in hunting, while still others are the marks of successful hunters. These special cuts will all be discussed below in more detail.

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According to Dornan the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari practise circumcision of boys and what appears to be a form of cliterodectomy in girls, both in connection with puberty ceremonies. These mutilations he regards as common to most Bushmen and as being truly Bushman in origin, even going so far as to advance the opinion that the neighbouring Bantu who also practise them have taken them over from the Bushmen.[1] This view cannot be upheld. Actually none of the other Bushmen known to us have either form of mutilation, so that these practices can by no means be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture. It is far more probable that the Hiechware have adopted them from the BeChwana, to whose influence they have long been exposed, just as they have adopted from them other elements of Bantu culture, both in technology and in religion.

Hottentots

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Circumcision, as in the case of the Bushmen, was altogether unknown to the Hottentots. Kolb and several other early writers on the Cape Hottentots, however, state that at or before puberty the left testicle of every boy was excised.[2] It is difficult to decide how much truth there is in this statement, although Kolb gives a minute description of the rite and claims to have repeatedly made a personal examination of the victims themselves. Later writers all emphatically deny the existence of this practice, especially Fritsch, perhaps the most careful observer of the bodily characters of the Cape Hottentots. He maintains that Kolb may have been deceived by the well-known fact that in both Hottentots and Bushmen the scrotum is often drawn up close to and just under the root of the penis, and appears to contain only one testicle, the other not having descended into the scrotal sac.[3] Certainly in more recent times the custom of excision, if it ever did exist (and one is inclined to believe that the older writers may be trusted in this respect), has completely disappeared; and it has never

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[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 158–60.

[2] Kolb, op. cit., 55 sqq.; Ten Rhyne, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," 842; Wikar, "Berigt aan den Heer Joachim van Plettenberg," 98–9; other references summarized by Walk, "Initiationszeremonien . . . der süadafrikanischen Stämme," 882 sqq.

[3] Fritsch, op. cit., 333–4.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

TRIBE AND HUNTING BAND

ALL the Bushmen in their native condition lead a nomadic hunting 222
and collecting life, roaming about in search of the game and wild 224
vegetable foods upon which they depend for their existence. The [182]
conditions of their subsistence necessarily prevent them from banding
together permanently in any considerable numbers. Wherever they 621
still retain to any marked degree their original mode of life and
organization they are found scattered over the land in small separate
communities.[1] Each such community will be spoken of here as a
hunting band. The members of a band share a common life, they see
one another constantly, they co-operate in many ways, and they are
all as a rule friendly and on fairly intimate terms. Each band also [619]
has occasional relations with other neighbouring bands, through
intermarriage and trade, and visitors may pass from one to another.
On the other hand, there are often quarrels between neighbouring [628]
bands, which may result in a prolonged state of feud and even lead
directly to warfare.

The various bands among the Heikum are generally referred to 621
among each other by a name which indicates either the locality in 101
which they live, or describes some physical or other characteristic
of the band itself or of its locality. The *se-khoin*, for example, are the
people of the *seb* or plain; the */gom-khoin* the people who eat the

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[1] The social organization of the Bushmen is one of the least-known aspects of their culture, and sadly needs careful and detailed investigation. The most reliable sources of information refer [114] almost exclusively to the North-Western tribes: Passarge, *Die Buschmanner der Kalahari*, 1907; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910); (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.* 21 (1927); *idem*, *The Naron*, 1928; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928); L. Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. SW. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6); *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, 1928. The relevant literature on the other tribes is for the most part fragmentary, although some valuable data on the Namib Bushmen are given by Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), and by Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910). Where no special reference is made to any particular tribe the analysis given above must therefore be regarded as applying especially to the North-Western tribes, who are also the only Bushmen still leading a fairly independent life.

mountains in the west of Great Namaqualand.[1] Most of the Bushmen, 342
however, now live in flat country, where such natural shelters are 361
denied them. Wherever they stay for more than a couple of days, [462]
crude bush huts are put up by the women. These are usually erected
within walking distance of a waterhole, about an hour or two away. [312]
The people never live at the water itself, for fear of frightening away [224]
the game, which is most easily shot or trapped when coming to drink.

Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, "When it becomes 361
necessary to desert an old camp and establish a new one the site 622
for the latter is selected by the chief, who deposits his household 342
and other effects on the place on which his own hut is to be erected.
After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light
a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft [372]
may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts."[2]

There seems to be as a rule no fixed form of settlement. All the 361
families drinking at one waterhole may live in one group, or there may be several lots of huts scattered about in different directions. Among the Cape Bushmen, for example, one might find three or four huts standing together, or several huts dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, and the same appears to be true of the Naron.[3]

Among the Heikum, however, the camp is said to be laid out on
a definite plan.[4] As a rule all the members of the band live in a common [184]
encampment or "werft" (*//gaus*). The huts of the married families are placed at a certain interval apart, and arranged in the form of an irregular circle. At or near the middle of the camp is situated a large tree, known as the */heis*. The hut of the chief (*gei-khoib*) is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. The brother of the *gei-khoib* live immediately to his left on the south side of the *//gaus*, and beyond them are placed the other married families of the community. The right or north side of the *//gaus* is reserved entirely for visiting sisters of the *gei-khoib* and their families, while any of his married daughters who may be visiting him erects her hut directly opposite to his at the furthest extremity of the camp.
"This is done on account of the parent-in-law taboo (*tao-sas*) which [606]

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[1] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.

[2] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.

[3] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii; *idem*, *The Naron*, 4.

[4] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50–2; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.

361 [606] exists among the *Hei-//om* in common with other Bushman tribes."
Within the circle of huts towards the south is the hut of the adolescent
[882] young girls, and towards the north that of the adolescent young
men; mature marriageable young women occupy huts next to those
of their parents in the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also
[589] visitors from any neighbouring group, live outside the circle of
married people. The dancing place is to the west within the circle.

" The large tree (*!heis*) in or near the centre of the *//gaus* is reserved
361 as a meeting place for men for ceremonial and other purposes. Women
562 are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered
underneath it. To this, however, there is one exception, namely,
[622] the wife (*gei-khois*) of the *gei-khoib* may go to it to obtain fire for
kindling the principal fire (*!ou-|ais*) or for other menial purposes
when required by her husband. With the exception of the chief
nobody is permitted to live in close proximity to this *!heis*. Under
[372] it is made the first fire (*!hei-|ais*) on the establishment of a new
[224] *//gaus* and underneath it is deposited, for distribution, all meat killed
in the chase."[1]

Fourie speaks of this camp arrangement as being present among
114 all the Bushmen in the northern parts of South-West Africa,[2] but the
361 only confirmation for this statement is given by Vedder, who just
hints at a similar arrangement of the camp among the Kung. " Where
several families live together," he says, " the huts are ranged in a
circle, the head of the group (" Dorfälteste ") living in the east."[3]

Each family within the group has its own hut. Where the families
592 are polygynous, the wives may live together in the same hut if they
[595] get on well; otherwise each will build herself a separate hut. Children
sleep with their parents until strong enough to go about by
themselves. The bigger boys and young bachelors sometimes share
[882] a hut together, but generally they sleep out in the open under a tree,
and only in very wet weather will their mothers in co-operation
build them a hut. Unmarried girls too old to sleep with their parents
also share a separate hut. An old widower may live alone, or with
[589] a boy; a widow and her little children, where they do not live alone,
are generally quartered with the girls.[4]

The huts themselves (Plate VI) are somewhat crude, consisting
342 as a rule merely of a semicircular shelter of branches planted into

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[1] Fourie, " Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52. [2] " Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.

[3] " Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," 6.

[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 4–5; Fourie, " Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 51; Kaufmann, " Die Auin," 138.

262 to these taboos is unfortunately so fragmentary that little can be
[114] gathered of the ideas underlying them. Several of them are
undoubtedly connected with wider ritual observances, e.g. the taboo
[821] imposed on menstruating girls, and again that associated with a
[821] certain belief about the rain; but of the others no full explanation is
[773] available, although the taboo on the portion of the hare may possibly
[761] be linked up with the Bushman myth of the origin of death, in which
the hare plays the part of the fateful messenger who distorts the
[825] promise of immortality sent to mankind by the moon.

Among the Naron, again, "It does not seem," says Miss Bleek,[1] "as if many taboos in the food line still existed. Paauw meat and ostrich eggs are chiefly given to old men as the greatest delicacies. Some say young children, or girls till they have had their first baby, are not to eat steenbok, lest they remain small, but others tell me that all meat is eaten by everyone. Honey touched by a baboon must not be eaten, or you will die." Among the Auen, young girls and boys apparently may not eat game at all, otherwise they will remain thin; while water
[841] and food collected by a menstruating woman may be partaken of only
by herself and old people—it "makes others weak".[2]

About the Heikum we have far more information on this point,
224 thanks to the excellent description given by Fourie of certain
[114] of their hunting observances.[3] The details he gives throw such a
wealth of new light upon this aspect of Bushman life that they may
be quoted in full. "After an animal has been shot it is followed
by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to
the *//gaus* (camp). The following morning the whole community
takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks
had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals.
224 The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout
252 for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is
[462] skinned by the men. The belly is then opened and the entrails removed
and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood
is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done,
the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the
[281] purpose, is cut into sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is
then removed to the *//gaus* by the men who may occasionally be
[462] assisted by the women. On arrival at the *//gaus* all the meat is laid

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[1] *The Naron*, 7.

[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140, 157.

[3] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 100–2; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 54–6.

on the ground under the */heis* either on sticks which were used in 224
carrying it or on branches. The *gei-khoib* (chief) now comes forward 252
and if he finds that the */hei-/ais* (fire under the tree) has gone out he 224
returns to his hut, brings fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is 252
absent when the meat is brought in he is immediately sent for, the 622
meat in the meantime being hung on the *!heis* (tree in centre of camp).
After having kindled the fire the *gei-khoib* instructs one of the men— [372]
the one who has shot the animal is excluded from doing any work—to
open the bones and collect the marrow. The blood and the marrow
are placed on the fire in separate pots and at the same time some of
the meat for the men is also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for
eating the *gei-khoib* removes a piece from the pot and 'tastes'
(*tsa-tsa*) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth and fingers [264]
and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The meat is now safe
for the members of his group to eat. The cooked meat is then pounded
with a stone, teased between the fingers and thrown into the pot
containing the blood. The melted marrow is next stirred into the
mixture of blood and meat. The resulting dish is known as *‡koms*.

"All meat killed with bow and arrow is *soxa* [taboo] and may not be 224 262
partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gei-khoib*. The liver, how- [622]
ever, is eaten by the men immediately after the animal has been cut
up and is thus excluded from the scope of the *soxa* as far as men are
concerned, but to the women it is *soxa*. All parts of the animal are
eaten, but certain categories of people may eat only certain prescribed
portions of the animal, the rest of the meat being *soxa* to them. For
example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is entitled to the
superficial covering of meat and fat of the hind quarters, the entrails
and the trotters (*‡ei-ti*). Her portion is known as the *‡noe-di* and is the
only meat which may be partaken of by women. The *‡noe-di* is shared
by her with the other women, including the *‡kham-khoidi* (adolescent
girls) and with the young children. The *‡noe-di*, however, may not [622]
be eaten until the *gei-khoib* has tasted the meat. It is cut on the spot
where the carcass was found by the person who shot the animal and
handed over to the latter's wife after arrival at the *//gaus*. It is not
brought under the */heis*. It is cooked by the wife of the hunter on the [252]
fire in front of her hut after which the other women come and get
their portions and eat it in their own huts. The *‡kham-khoidi*
obtain their meat from their respective mothers, as also do young
children still living with their parents. If women partake of any other
meat than the *‡noe-di*, the poison of the arrow will not act when an

224 animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu*
262 (youths) is known as *!ǫm-//gani*, and includes the flesh of the abdominal
wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles,
224 etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at
252 the *axarogudi ǂgaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the
262 animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare
his portion either under the *!heis* or over his own fire. The ribs must
be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better
when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *soxa* to him, and
if he eats any other part, e.g. the *ǂkoms*, he will not meet with success
in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts
of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and
include portions of about two finger-breadths in size from each
quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These
are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis*
[574] may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The
gei-khois receives her share from the *ǂnoe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also
partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-//gani*,
[264] under which is included the *ǂkoms*. The latter may be eaten only under
the *!heis*. After it has been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl
or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is
[841] menstruating will, however, not partake of the *ǂkoms* as it contains
blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib*,
and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

"A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat killed by
224 the members of an outlying *//gaus*, the *gei-khoib* likewise having to
262 taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the
622 *//gaus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable,
all the meat will be brought to his *//gaus*. In all such cases the *so-eis*
is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill.
[372] When he visits a *//gaus* for this purpose he kindles the *!hei-/ais* with
fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns
to his own."

114 Apart from the light it throws upon certain functions of the chief,
224 this account illustrates admirably both the existence of special ritual
[622] observances in regard to game killed in the chase, and the fact that
food obtained in this way is shared among all the people present at
the encampment. This latter feature has also been noted by other
writers on the different Bushman tribes,[1] and it can safely be asserted

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[1] Passarge, op. cit., 55; Kaufmann, op. cit., 155–6 D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, pp. viii–ix; *idem*, *The Naron*, 16.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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that among the Bushmen all game is shared out among the members of 114
the band. To what extent the same elaborate rules of division exist 224
in the other tribes is difficult to determine. The only other indication
of similar practices is found in the texts obtained by Bleek and
Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen. Only a selection of these have so
far been published, and the information contained in them is rather
fragmentary. But it appears that women, for example, were not
permitted to eat the meat of the shoulder blades, lest the men [262]
subsequently prove unsuccessful in hunting; that the man who shot
the animal might not take part in cutting it up; and the bones which
were left over had to be carefully put aside in certain special ways.[1]
Obviously such usages hint at an elaborate procedure in regard to the
cutting up, distribution, and treatment of the meat; and one can only
regret that all the details relating to them have not yet been made
available.

Narcotics

As narcotics the Bushmen use chiefly tobacco and dagga 276
(*Cannabis sativa*), the latter a herb with marked intoxicating effects.
All grown-up people, and even small children, smoke tobacco
when they can get it. They do not cultivate it themselves, although
a few men among the Auen and the Naron are said to have made [249]
slight efforts to grow tobacco and dagga after the manner of their [177]
Bantu and Bergdama neighbours.[2] Almost all the tobacco used by the
Bushmen is imported through trade or obtained by service with [439]
other peoples, and they are always extremely keen to acquire it.

In the north-west their pipes (Plate XI) are generally tubes of [324]
serpentine, some 3 inches long and rather wider at one end than at
the other, which are cut and hollowed out with the iron spear point
or with a knife, or even with a small stone drill. The hollow shin [237]
bones of small buck are also sometimes used, but nowadays the most
prevalent form of pipe is an empty cartridge-case! Pipes consisting [177]
of an antelope horn were largely used by the Cape Bushmen. Near [321]
the point of the horn was made a hole, into which was inserted a reed
tube, and on top of this was fitted an elongated clay bowl to hold
the tobacco. When these pipes were used, some water was put into
the horn, the mouth applied to the large orifice of the horn, and the

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[1] Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 271 sqq.

[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 18; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148–9.

at Sandfontein powdered acid roots are rubbed into the wounds to 304
keep them from closing as they heal, but no colouring matter is 881
applied; further east, however, according to Passarge, wood ash is [184]
rubbed in to make the wounds black. All men in the North-Western
tribes have these cuts (see Frontispiece), which are supposed to make [224] ●
them "see well", i.e. to bring them good luck in hunting. After
this operation the boys are permitted to return to the camp. They 882
are now regarded as men, they can marry, and they take part in the
councils of the men and associate with them.

The rites described above appear to exist only in the North-Western 84
tribes. There is no definite record of any puberty ceremonies for 881
boys among the Southern Bushmen, and according to Miss Bleek
the */nu//en*, one of the tribes falling in this division, distinctly denied
that such ceremonies were held by them,[1] while in the same way their
existence among the Namib Bushmen is emphatically denied by Trenk.[2]

It should be mentioned here, however, that from information 794
obtained by Orpen from a member of the now extinct tribe of Basuto- 535
land Bushmen it appears that there were certain dances connected with 776
religious beliefs, the secrets of which were known only to the men
initiated into them.[3] Campbell also records a dance of these Bushmen
as described to him by an informant: "When the Bushmen dance,
Ko (a deity) sometimes comes and informs them where game is to be
procured; and when any animals are killed, certain parts of them may
only be eaten by particular persons. She is a large, white figure,
and sheds such a brightness around, that they can hardly see the fire
for it; all see and hear her as she dances with them . . . They cannot
feel what she is, but should a man be permitted to touch her, which
seldom happens, she breathes hard upon his arm, and this makes him
shoot better . . . After Ko comes up from the ground and dances
a short time with them, she disappears, and is succeeded by her
nymphs, who likewise dance a while with them."[4] The description
of this dance at once reminds one of the puberty dances for boys [881]
among the North-Western Bushmen, where Huwe or Hishe also
comes and dances with them, and there is the same suggestion that
the ceremony is in some way connected with hunting; but there is
nothing definite either in Campbell's account or in Orpen's to indicate
that the dances referred to by them were in any way connected with
puberty ceremonies for boys.

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[1] *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 10.

[2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

[3] "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Folk-Lore*, xxx, 142.

[4] Campbell, *Second Journey into South Africa*, ii, 31–2.

222 way private rights can be indicated over honey in a nest, or by a woman
422 who has located a spot with a specially abundant supply of veldkos. Whoever removes anything from such places is regarded as a thief.[1] It must be emphasized, however, that rights of this nature are only
[423] acquired by chance, and that apart from them there appears to be no restriction at all upon the free exploitation of the hunting territory and all its resources by any member of the band.

HUNTING

224 Once they have passed through the puberty ceremonies, boys and
[883] girls participate in the full economic life of the band. All the men
[462] are hunters, and spend the greater part of their daily life in pursuing or ensnaring game. Their methods of hunting vary with the nature of the intended prey, and according to the season of the year.

Weapons

The principal method is by means of pursuit and the use of weapons.
411 The latter amongst all the Bushmen consist primarily of the bow and arrow.[2] The bows are small, and on the whole fairly crude and of simple make (Plate IXd). They are as a rule prepared from the wood
[824] of the *Grewia flava*, a thin length of which is cut and roughly shaped is such a way as to taper gradually almost to a point at the ends. The
[283] string is made either from two thin sinews twisted together or some-
[237] times, among the Northern tribes, from wood fibre worked into a
[284] strong cord. It is attached by a simple slip-knot and wound tightly several times round the basal end of the bow-stave, to which a small leather collar or sinew band is usually fixed to prevent the string from slipping when hitched over it. The stave is then bent and the string knotted to the other end, where it is kept in place by a leather band. The bow is kept permanently strung. Its stave is frequently strengthened with additional sinew bindings, especially round the centre, which prevent it from splitting and also form a convenient grip for the hand.

The arrows are complex in structure and vary considerably in

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[1] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 120; *idem*, in *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, ix (1896), p. xvii; Vialls, "The Masarwa," 32; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuń-Buschleuten," 13.

[2] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), 113–17; cf. Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 68–71; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4; van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements," 80–5; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hanneinann," 94–6, 99–100.

278 transported. When wanted for use, the insect inside is rubbed to powder on a half tortoise-shell, then mixed with the juice obtained either from the spiked cucumber (*Citrullus caffer*) or from the 'hakdoorn' (*Zizyphus mucronata*). They heat the cucumber root in the ashes, knock it on the ground, then wring out the liquid it contains. The bark of the 'hakdoorn' is chewed, and the juice spat into the dish of poison. This juice is clear, bitter, and sticky and adheres to the arrow point, on to which it is dabbed with a flattened stick after being mixed with the poison. The poisonous matter becomes very hard and dry and is apt to fly off into the eyes if the arrow is carelessly handled. Bushmen always warn one of this and say the eyes become much inflamed if even a tiny grain of dried poison gets into them." Any mixture left over is wound round a stick and carried with the arrows in the long bag; presumably it must be heated again if it is to be put on to further arrow-heads.[1]

There does not appear to be any sort of ceremonial attaching to
114 the process of preparing the poison, nor is the work of doing so the
278 function of any particular person. There are, indeed, one or two hints at something of this kind, but nothing which can be regarded as fully reliable.[2] All our principal authorities state that in general any man who needs poison prepares it for himself when he wants it.[3]

None of the Bushman poisons is instantaneous in its effect, although
224 as a rule the smaller the animal the quicker the action. Generally
278 the wounded animal runs on as if unhurt, and the hunter follows on its spoor until he finds the dead body; sometimes this is within half an hour, sometimes many hours elapse before the poison proves effective, and often enough it is not till the next day that he can obtain his meat. That the poison is fatal once it gets to the blood, cannot be doubted. Once the arrow pierces the skin of the animal the Bushman has no fear that it may escape him; it may travel perhaps forty or more miles after being wounded, but its progress becomes slower and weaker, until finally it falls down dead.

In addition to bows and arrows, the Northern tribes also make
411 use in hunting of throwing-sticks ("knob kirris") and spears. The former is a round-headed stick of hard wood, usually *Acacia*, about
[412] two feet in length, and pointed at the lower end to serve also as a digging-stick. It is used for knocking down birds and small mammals,

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[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 14.

[2] These statements are summarized by Schapera, op. cit., 206.

[3] In addition to the references given by Schapera, loc. cit.; cf. Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 147; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 54.

and in minor quarrels it is the weapon of offence or defence. The 411 spears have long wooden shafts and an iron head about six inches long. The latter is obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu, [439] but the spear itself is made by the Bushmen. For the shaft they pierce the end of a stick, then heat the tang of the iron head in the fire and insert it, binding the joint tightly with sinew.[1] Relatively few of the men possess these spears, and as they do not appear ever to have been [177] used by the Southern Bushmen they can safely be regarded as weapons borrowed from the Bantu.

Methods of Hunting

The Bushmen, as already indicated, have a variety of devices for 224 catching game, the particular method employed being determined by the nature of the intended prey and the season of the year.[2] In some cases the animals are run down on foot. In this manner, for instance, small buck such as the duiker and steenbok, and even big game such as the gemsbok, are hunted during the "big rainy season" (late summer), when the ground, sodden with moisture, impedes the progress of the animals and causes them to fall an easy prey to the hunter, who on overtaking his quarry kills it with the kirri or the spear. This method cannot be employed for small game during the dry season owing to the difficulty in following the spoor, but in the hot part of the dry season young buck are easily caught in this way, as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. Many varieties of big game, such as the wildebeest and zebra, are also run down in the hot dry season. After a herd of game has been located, one or more men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued relentlessly, never once being allowed to rest, until it is exhausted and brought to bay, when the hunter comes up and kills it with the spear.

Burrowing animals, such as the spring hare (jerboa) and anteater, are caught in their holes by means of a long barbed stick. This is poked down the hole into the animal's flesh, either to drag it out or to transfix it while another man digs down to it. Snakes are sometimes caught in the same manner. The man who pulls out the snake runs fast, dragging it after him, while others throw kirris and spears at it; this cannot be done in grass or the snake may escape. Steenbok,

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[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 14; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143-4, 152; Gretschel, op. cit., 102-3.

[2] The fullest descriptions of the hunting life and methods of the Bushmen are given by [114] Stow, op. cit., 80-94; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 167; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 667-8; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 45 sqq. (an exceptionally detailed and graphic account); Kaufmann, op. cit., 144-7; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 94 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 15-16; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 99 sqq.

224 where bush is scarce, frequently seek shelter during the day in the numerous anteater holes. Finding a morning spoor leading to one of these holes, the hunter, silently as a cat, creeps up to the hole and plants himself before it, leaving a small open space under the left arm, for which the buck charges, when it is pinned and dealt a stunning blow over the head with the kirri held in the right hand. In this way numbers of these animals are killed. The kirri is also used for knocking down hares and game birds; it is thrown from a distance of twenty-five to thirty feet, and generally stuns the game so that it is easily [223] secured. Birds are preferably aimed at just when they are rising from the ground, as the slightest blow will then upset their balance and bring them down before they have time to escape.

Bigger game, such as the giraffe, eland, hartebeest, ostrich, and springbok are generally hunted with the bow and arrow, which are used all the year round. As a rule the men hunt alone, or a man and boy together. They find the spoor of an animal and follow it, finally creeping up to the leeward side on hands and knees, using all possible cover, and then raise themselves gently to shoot. Or else they lie in wait for the game on its way to the water, or in the vicinity of a place where it comes to lick salt. The men hide themselves between stones, or dig a hole in the ground, piling up the earth in front and sticking green branches on top to deceive the game. Occasionally, again, several men surround game in a pan, some standing to leeward ready to shoot, while the others drive from windward, approaching from different quarters.

Once he has wounded an animal, the hunter takes up its trail and follows it leisurely, knowing that he will ultimately reach the corpse, if the poison on the arrow has been at all effective. There is always the great danger, however, that if the buck has run too far, and he takes too long to reach it, hyenas or the vultures may have got there first. Also care must be taken that the animal does not run out of [423] [621] the hunting territory, as it is then as good as lost, or, where the neighbouring band is friendly enough to permit of its being followed over the border, the meat must be shared with the members of that band. When at last he comes up with the buck the hunter, if it is not already dead, dispatches it with the spear or kirri. He then cuts [252] it up, roasts and eats some of the meat, and carries the rest home; or, if near the huts, he may carry the whole buck home. If it is too big to manage, he will light a fire to summon the other members of the band to the spot. Everybody shares in the meat, which is doled

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out by the hunter, who, however, keeps the skin, sinews, etc., for 224
himself.

The Cape Bushmen occasionally dressed themselves up in the 223
skin of an animal or in the feathers of an ostrich in order to approach 825
the game unsuspected. A kind of saddle made of grass in which were [292]
stuck ostrich feathers was placed on the shoulders, while a long stick
with the head curved to look like an ostrich was carried in the hand.
The hunter by imitating the motions of the bird feeding, running or
preening its feathers contrived to get as close to the flock as possible,
always moving up wind, before discharging his poisoned arrow.
In a well-known rock painting from Herschel reproduced by Stow[1] [532]
there is portrayed such a scene, in which the hunter is shown under the
feathers of an ostrich, cautiously approaching, with poised arrow, a
number of real ostriches who are feeding peacefully close by. Similar
disguises are employed by the Namib Bushmen, but appear to be [184]
generally unknown among the tribes further north, although the ostrich
disguise is reported by Dornan of the Hiechware and on hearsay by
Kaufmann of the Auen. Various other ruses are known, however.
Some men are very clever at imitating the calls of various birds and
animals and by this means get quite close and thus secure their quarry.
Again, "in the season when the young animals are not able to follow 224
their dams, they are hidden by the mothers, who feed in the vicinity. 825
The Bushmen having found where a young one is hidden, will go
close up to it and imitate its cry. The mother, hearing the cry and
thinking that some wild animal has attacked her calf, immediately
rushes up to protect it, and is easily killed. Numbers of animals, more
especially the smaller buck, are destroyed in this manner."[2]

Almost every Bushman village has also a large number of dogs 224
which accompany their masters on the hunt.[3] These are the only [231]
domestic animals possessed by the Bushmen. They are lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half-starved and savage-tempered. They are quite silent on the spoor and never betray the presence of the hunters by barking, though they will snarl and sometimes bark if one approaches an encampment. "It is really wonderful," says Herbst, "with what courage these lean mongrels will tackle a leopard, a courage no doubt begotten of hunger and an absolute confidence in their masters, who, with their knobkerries, are never far behind so

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[1] Stow, op. cit., pl. vii, facing p. 82.

[2] Dornan, op. cit., 105; cf. Kaufmann, op. cit., 146.

[3] Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 262–3; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Herbst, *Report on Rietfontein Area*, 6; Range, *Beiträge zur Landeskunde des Namalandes*, 73; Schultze, op. cit., 667; Dornan, op. cit., 103–4; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 16.

224 soon as the dog has gripped his prey." Among the Naron these
dogs are procured from BeChwana, Bergdama or white men in order
[231] to hunt jackals, leopards, lynxes and other animals whose skins are
[439] valued for making karosses. The skins so obtained are brought to
the giver of the dog and bought by him at his own price for tobacco
or trade goods, chiefly the former. The dogs are sometimes used by
the people to catch hares and small buck for their larder, but are never
taken out to hunt larger game.

In addition to these different methods of hunting by pursuit and
the use of weapons, the Bushmen employ various methods of trapping.
Pitfalls are often made during the dry season in the path to a waterhole
or along river banks, and covered with bushes. In the Central and
Northern Kalahari these pits are about four yards long and deep, and
not quite a yard wide. They are dug with the ordinary digging-stick
in such a way that a small wall of earth is left standing in the middle,
but not reaching to the surface. Large animals in attempting to escape
out of the pit jump on to this partition wall, where they remain hopelessly
suspended on their belly. Other pits of the same nature,
especially among the Southern Bushmen, often have pointed stakes
placed in the middle. They serve to catch big game animals, such as
rhinoceros, which are then killed with the spear, and in particular
those, like zebras and antelopes, which come down in herds to drink
at the water. In former times, when there was a far greater abundance
[136] of game, whole valleys were sometimes enclosed, and large numbers
of men combined to drive a herd of game down from the heights into
the trap in the valley. Galton describes one of the most remarkable
works of this kind. "We passed a magnificent set of pitfalls which
the Bushmen who live about these hills had made. The whole
breadth of the valley was staked and bushed across. At intervals
the fence was broken, and there broken deep pitfalls were made.
[313] The strength and size of timber that was used gave me a great idea
of Bushman industry, for every tree had to be burned down and
carried away from the hills, and yet the scale of the undertaking would
have excited astonishment in far more civilized nations. When a
herd of animals was seen among the hills, the Bushmen drove them
through this valley up to the fence; this was too high for them to
jump, so that they were obliged to make for the gaps, and there
they tumbled into the pitfalls."[1]

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[1] *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*, 106; cf. Wikar, "Berigt aan den . . . Heer van Plettenberg," 88–9; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 386–7; Chapman, op. cit., ii, 80–1; Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland und seine Bewohner," 695; *idem*, *Die Buschmänner*, 78–9.

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Another method of trapping employed by the Bushmen of the Namib and of the North-West Cape was to poison the water in springs 224 and so kill the game that came to drink there. The water was conducted a few yards from the spring into a specially-prepared [278] pit, into which were thrown branches of the poisonous *Euphorbia*. The branches were kept down with stones, and the juice exuding from them rested like a scum on the water. The spring itself was fenced off or covered over, thus forcing the animals to drink from the pit. Zebras and other members of the equine species were especially susceptible to water poisoned in this way. Alexander states that near the River Keisu in South-West Africa he found the remains of no less than twenty horses lying close to such a poisoned waterhole.[1]

Traps proper as employed by the modern Bushmen are of two kinds. In one a stone or block of wood is placed in such a position that when the animal touches the exposed bait, the suspended weight falls down upon it. The other kind consists in snares (Plate XI), [184] which are widespread among the Northern Bushmen, but do not appear ever to have been used by the Southern tribes. They are of various types, but the general principle is that a supple twig or sapling is bent down by means of a cord attached to a bait and ending in a noose. If the animal stirs the bait, the cord is released, the sapling springs back into the air, and the noose catches the throat or leg of the animal, which is carried up with it. In this way are caught not only birds and small quadrupeds, such as hares, wild cats, and jackals, but even small buck such as the duiker and steenbok, as well as leopards and ostriches. Snaring is resorted to only during the dry [221] season; in the rainy season it must cease owing to the action of the damp on the cord. This is made from the bark fibre of *Sansevieria* [283] *zeylanica*, which is shredded by means of a pointed stick, then rolled on the thigh into strands, which are twisted together. Thicker and thinner cords are made according to the game to be trapped.[2]

Fishing

This is also practised wherever possible by all the Bushmen; 226 indeed, among the tribes living in the Okavango swamps it is even

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[1] Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, ii, 223; Paterson, *Four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots*, 169; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 167. Moffat describes how on one occasion he nearly died as a result of drinking water poisoned in this way (*Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 155–6).

[2] Schultze, op. cit., 667; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 77; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 199 sq.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 15.

226 more important as a mode of subsistence than hunting.[1] It[2] is also
[462] the work of the men. Among the Cape Bushmen, especially those
living along the banks of the Orange River, the principal method
[227] employed lay in the use of funnel-shaped traps of closely woven reeds,
about 3 feet long and 18 inches to 2 feet wide, narrowing towards the
mouth. These traps were stretched across the stream in a shallow
part, and while some men stood waiting behind them, others waded
up stream from a point below and drove the fish before them to the
reed traps, where they were then caught and thrown on shore.

In the Okavango basin this method is also used, but there is a variety
of others as well. Sometimes the fish in the lakes and rivers are speared
[177] from flat-bottomed boats, probably adopted from the MaMbukushu
[501] and MaKoba of the same region. Sometimes, again, small stone dams
are built from each bank so as to run out into the river in a slanting
direction, leaving a narrow opening in which is placed the reed trap.
The fish are either swept into these traps by the force of the current,
or are driven in by the Bushmen themselves. Or, again, reed fences
or stone dams are built straight across the beds of the dry courses
into which the river overflows at times of flood. When the flood has
reached its highest level, and the water begins to sink, the retreat of
the fish carried along into these courses is cut off, so that they are
easily caught.

Special Hunting Observances

The method of hunting by pursuit and the use of weapons is
224 surrounded by all the Bushmen with various special usages and
304 beliefs. Charms to ensure good luck in the chase are found among
them all. With the North-Western tribes these most commonly take
the form of scarifications serving to endow the hunter with the
qualities of certain animals and enabling him to hunt them successfully.
The cuts are made as a rule on the arms, sometimes on the cheeks,
occasionally also on the back, chest, or belly. A tiny piece of meat is
then burned to ashes, which are rubbed into the wounds. The meat
[825] is that of an animal whose qualities are specially desirable, e.g. that
of the springbok for swiftness. These cuts are usually given to boys
soon after they begin to hunt, and are executed by old men who are
themselves successful hunters. The cuts made between the eyebrows

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[1] Barrow, op. cit., i, 290, 300; Lichtenstein, op. cit., ii, 44; Alexander, op. cit., i, 237; Passarge, "Okawangosumpfland," 697–8; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296; Dornan, op. cit., 106–9.

[2] [i.e., fishing.—Analyst]

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of boys at the puberty ceremonies are also said to have the function 224
of making them "see better" in hunting.[1] Seydel briefly mentions 304
the existence of similar practices among the Namib Bushmen. Cuts are made on the forehead or upper arm of a man in order that he may have better fortune in hunting. These cuts are made by a near relative of his, such as father, brother, or wife, and are given only to adults.[2]

There is no record of such scarifications among the Cape Bushmen, [184]
although here also a well-developed ritual existed in connection with
hunting life. Unfortunately, only fragments of this have been 224
recorded. They show that there were certain special precautions [114]
to be observed before going out on the hunt, and especially during that critical period when the game has been wounded but not yet taken. Thus, when an animal has been wounded, the flesh of the swift springbok may not be eaten by the hunter, as this would give strength to the movements of the wounded buck; he should rather eat the flesh of a slow-moving animal, especially of such as would strengthen the action of the poison. The moon must not be looked upon when following the spoor, lest the animal run too far—a belief also held by the Naron. The hunter's shadow, again, must not be allowed to fall upon game which lies dying; certain (unspecified) rules have to be observed when an eland has been shot; the bones of the dead animal must be treated in a certain way; Bushman girls perform special ceremonies, in order that their father's dogs may hunt well, while certain cuts must be made upon the bow when a baboon or hyena has been killed. Unfortunate shots are believed to be due to such causes as the children at home playing on a man's bed, and are also ascribed to the remissness of wives, while there even appears to be a belief that unsuccessful hunting may forebode evil to the hunter. Also it is held that after the death of a companion the hunters will be unlucky in springbok hunting, and certain (unspecified) remedial measures are resorted to.[3]

Beliefs of a somewhat similar nature are found among the Heikum. As we have already seen, the meat of an animal killed with the bow and arrow is subject to minutely-prescribed rules of division and preparation. Moreover, a man who shoots an eland or giraffe must, on

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[1] Chapman, op. cit., i, 56, 76, 81, 159; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 246; Passarge, op. cit., 108–9; Vedder, op. cit., 9; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 50, 51; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 114–15; *idem*, *Naron*, 11.

[2] "Aus der Namib," 505.

[3] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 19; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15–16, 19, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 66 sqq., 270 sqq.

224 returning to the camp, sleep under the central tree and avoid sexual
intercourse with his wife, lest the poison prove ineffective and the
animal escape. The meat of an animal killed by a dog may not be
[841] eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating;
this is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game.
Any want of success is generally attributed to some chance accident;
for example, a man who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife
was menstruating will not hunt again while she is in that condition,
nor will she eat any of the *ǂnoe-di* at such times.[1]

These practices and beliefs obviously represent only a small portion of what must be an elaborate series of usages relating to hunting, but they suffice to indicate how the Bushmen, fully aware of the uncertainty attendant upon their efforts, seek to relieve their apprehensions and to obtain confidence by the aid of magic and taboo.

COLLECTING

224 Hunting in the old days was unquestionably the principal source
136 of subsistence in Bushman life. But with the decrease of the game
648 in their region and with the enforcement against them of the game
222 laws framed by the white man, its importance is diminishing, and at
the present time the Bushmen depend very largely for the means of
existence on the wild vegetable foods growing in the veld.

[241] Agriculture in any form is altogether unknown to them in their
222 traditional mode of life. The nearest they have got to it is found
224 in the practice observed by the North-Western tribes of burning the
311 veld at the end of the dry season.[2] This, it is said, is done primarily
in order that the edible bulbs, roots, etc., should come up better during
the approaching rainy season. It is also used, however, as a means of
hunting, for the men spread round the fire in a semicircle and drive all
the game rushing from it before them in a certain direction where some
hunters are lying in wait; moreover, the new grass growing soon
after the burning attracts the game, which returns to the area, and thus
makes it good hunting ground. Incidentally the burning serves to
kill off snakes, scorpions, and other noxious creatures. Men may only
[423] burn in their own territory; to do so across the border, or to gather
wood where others have burned, is a great offence. In former times,
[622] among the Naron, the chiefs are said to have regulated the burning;

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[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 56; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 102.

[2] Jodtka, "Reise nach dem Okavango," *D. KolBl.*, xiii (1902), 495; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 147, 156; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 17.

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nowadays the thing is done in a haphazard manner, and generally 222 224 [311] passes as an accident.

The collection of veldkos is done by both men and women; but [462] whereas with the former it is incidental to their hunting, the latter are collectors only, and set out every day, usually in company, to go over several miles of land. The digging-sticks they use are from [412] 3 to 4 feet long, and consist of pieces of hard wood, pointed at one end. In the south, where the veld is hard, and in the mountainous parts of the east these sticks were sometimes tipped with a buck's [184] horn and weighted by means of a perforated stone ball passed over their lower end and wedged in (Plate IX); but in the Kalahari, where there is only sand to cope with, this is never found. The foods gathered are chiefly roots, bulbs, ground nuts, berries, melons, and, in fact, anything at all edible, the food naturally varying with the season of the year. At the same time, the women also catch all sorts of small animals which they come across—iguanas, tortoises, frogs, locusts, flying ants, etc.—and they gather dry sticks for the evening fire.

Among the Heikum the following ceremony is observed in 222 connection with the gathering of veldkos by the women. "It is 622 practised," says Fourie,[1] "when the fruit of the *\/huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the */huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gaus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women to the *//gaus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the *!heis*. Her husband now kindles the *!hei-/ais*, and, after having applied */norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it." There is no known name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called */gao-ei-/un*. The [184] ceremony in this form is not found in any of the other Bushman tribes, but is met with also in slightly different form among the Bergdama. [171] The possibility of borrowing must therefore again be kept in mind; but, whether borrowed or not, the ceremony is of importance as indicating the development of a special ritual in connection with one of the principal sources of food supply.

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[1] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 56–7; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W.A." 98–9.

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681 There are, further, various sanctions by which non-fulfilment or the breach of any recognized custom is penalized, and which thus also serve as another and more direct means of securing conformance with the pattern of social life. In this category we may place ritual sanctions, where any departure from a prescribed rule of conduct is followed automatically by evil results, without any direct interference on the part of the community. The breaking of a taboo, for instance, is [784] held to produce serious consequences, such as death or disease or ill-luck in the chase. Thus among the Cape Bushmen, as we have seen, girls who do not observe the restrictions imposed upon them at the time of puberty are believed to change into frogs, while men who are seen by the girls at this time become permanently fixed in whatever position they then occupy, and so on. And again there are the [224] numerous observances and avoidances associated with hunting, which if neglected will result in ill-success, the loss of a wounded animal, etc. All sanctions of this sort—and in the preceding pages we have had occasion to notice a good many of them—may be regarded as legal mechanisms, in the sense that they operate to maintain the observance of accepted usages and customs.

Other breaches of custom, however, involve the direct intervention 627 of the members of the community. In general, when disputes arise [578] between the members of the band—among the Naron they are said [692] to be infrequent—there is no appeal to any supreme authority, for, as we have just noted, there is no such authority, nor are cases of wrongdoing or quarrels referred to the chiefs where these exist. The only remedy is self-help. But in so far as self-help is the recognized mode of reaction, it must also be regarded as a legal institution. Blood vengeance indeed is the principal, if not the only, recognized way of dealing with serious offences committed against a person even by members of the same band.[1]

The principal actions penalized in this way are adultery, theft, and [684] homicide. In the case of adultery, as we have already seen, the injured husband attempts to kill the adulterer, if he possibly can, while the unfaithful wife is beaten and in some cases divorced. Theft also [685] provokes blood vengeance, when the thief refuses to restore the stolen property.[2] Even if he does, he is reproached for his deed, and

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[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 155; Trenk, op. cit., 169; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35–6.

[2] According to one of the texts published by Bleek and Lloyd (*Bushman Folklore*, 416–25), among the Kung a man who steals in the camp is killed by the others present, who all shoot at him with their arrows. A married woman who steals is also sometimes shot by her own husband. More frequently, however, she is burned alive in a hut; although, if her parents are

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but formerly even to Europeans. In the Cape, for example, "If the 648
white man were a passing hunter and friendly, if he shared his bag 685
with the Bushmen, he was welcomed and could travel through the territory in peace; but when the settlers came in, permanently occupying the land at the springs, and doing great execution among the game, then the Bushmen retaliated by shooting the intruders or killing their stock. Whereupon the white man, unaware of any unfriendly behaviour on his part, dubbed the Bushman an untamable savage and a thief, and did his best to imprison or shoot him. Hence the war of extermination, which has reduced the race of Colonial Bushmen to its present vanishing figure."[1]

Among the Auen, when neighbouring bands are on friendly terms, 619
621
wounded game may be followed by the members of the one on to 685
the territory of the other. A portion of the game must, however, be
given to the owners of the land. Refusal to do so is always dangerous. [224]
Where the bands are very friendly it does not necessarily lead to bloodshed; the trespasser is merely driven away, and his weapons and game confiscated. Otherwise, however, he is killed. Women
caught trespassing are seized and taken to the camp of their captors; [628]
this often leads to war, when they are violated. And again the killing of a man by the members of another band always results in a state of feud.

It may happen that between two bands there is so strong a feud 628
of this nature that a meeting between their members invariably leads 685
to bloodshed. It is probably due to this, says Kaufmann, that among the Auen many bands are so antagonistic that violation of the territorial bounds leads to immediate punishment by death; and he cites the bands at Gam and Rietfontein, between whom there was a long-standing enmity. Among the Kung there is also much hostility between neighbouring bands, especially when, as occasionally happens, an attempt is made by one band to take from another the land it occupies, if this is very rich in veldkos. The oppressed band, if the weaker, must move, but the fights are conducted with great bitterness, and the deep enmity aroused extends over generations. A similar 628
condition of feud is reported to have existed between several bands of the Namib Bushmen, where, for example, in 1907 the people of Buntveldschuhhorn, in consequence of such a state of hostility, led an attack on those living at Aurus. Feud is also common between bands belonging to tribes of different speech, e.g. the Auen and the

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[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii.

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PLATE XI

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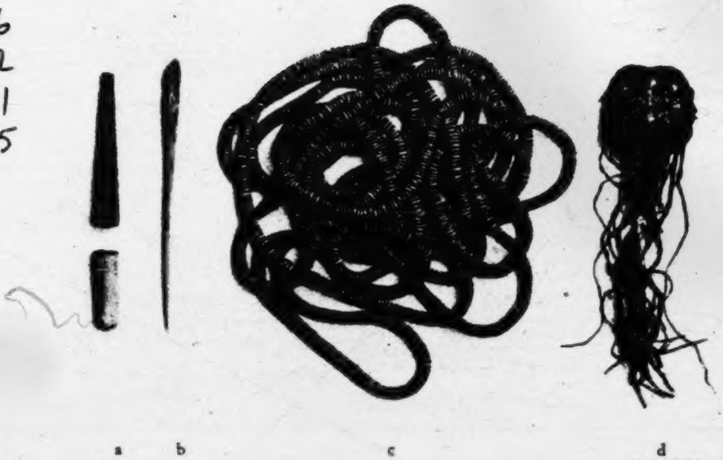
412
301
415



British Museum

BUSHMAN ORNAMENTS AND UTENSILS

a. Serpentine and Bone Pipes
b. Bone awl
c. Waistband of Ostrich egg-shell beads
d. Tortoise-shell box for holding *buchu*

● 224

L. Fourie

BUSHMAN SNARE FOR HUNTING GAME

[*face p.* 138]

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Ko('ngo), as

776 we have already seen, comes sometimes to the people while they are
[787] dancing, and informs them where game is to be procured; while
[224] if she breathes upon a man's arm this makes him shoot better.[1]

From these accounts we may gather that the Mantis among the
Basutoland Bushmen is regarded as the creator of all things, and is
[782] especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers
are addressed to him for food, for success in hunting, etc. He is
also linked up with certain dances in some way connected with
[756] initiation, although, from the description given by Orpen's informant,
[791] it is probable that the "initiated" men referred to are the magicians,
who are also the physicians in all Bushman tribes. The tales recorded
[773] by Orpen show that the Mantis here has much the same mythological
character as among the Cape Bushmen. The latter, however, do
[184] not pray to him, although by them also he is said to have creative
powers and to have made certain game animals which are under his
special protection.

Further north there are no particular beliefs about the Mantis.
184 Some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami, however, repeated to
776 Miss Lloyd several tales about */xwe*, a little personage not identified
with any animal, who plays tricks and transforms himself into a
variety of things. */xwe* also has some dealings with the Moon and
the Hare, outstanding figures of Bushman lore. He seems to have
much in common with the Mantis, but there is no further mention
of him in the other branches of the Kung or in any of the other North-Western tribes.[2]

776 The Naron and Auen at Sandfontein spoke to Miss Bleek about
Hishe or *Hiyesha*, a supernatural being who lived in the east, and
who, as we have already seen, appears in various guises at the boys'
[881] puberty ceremonies. He is regarded as the protector of the game
and hunting; he once, when the trees and animals were people,
bade them assume their present forms; he also instituted marriage
and the mode of life of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Europeans.
[756] From a casual reference by Miss Bleek it further appears that the
magicians "worked" with Hishe, but unfortunately she throws
[114] no light at all upon the meaning of this statement.

From the Hottentots these people were beginning to borrow the
177 776 idea of *!khuba* or *!xuba* (cf. Campbell's "Goba"). This is the

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[1] Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 32–3; Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage*, etc., 501, 505–6; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *passim*.

[2] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 404–13.

776 " the Lord " or " ~~the~~ great captain ", whom he identifies with Vedder's
Huwu or *Hu'e*. This " supreme being " is regarded as anthropo-
morphic, he looks like a Bushman and he also speaks Kung. He
lives in the sky in a house with two storeys, the lower of which is
occupied by himself, his wife, whose name is unknown, and many
children, while the upper is occupied, as already mentioned, by the
souls of the dead (*xa*). In appearance this house is similar to the
ordinary Bushman hut, although not quite the same, and its exterior
is " hairy like a caterpillar ". Honey, locusts, fat flies, and butterflies
[825] are found here in superabundance, and the " great captain " feeds
[775] upon these; the souls of the dead, however, merely sit around and
eat nothing. *Xu* summons the magicians to their profession, and
[756] gives them supernatural powers; he is the lord over rain and lightning,
as well as over the spirits, *//gauab*, and through the chief of the latter
he sends good fortune in hunting or in the collection of veldkos.
If anybody thinks or speaks evil of him, he punishes the evildoer
with lightning; otherwise he takes no interest in the doings of his
[782] " Bushman children ", except when somebody swears falsely by
him, for the Kung have a regular oath in which they invoke him.
He is prayed to by them in fixed form for rain, in case of severe
illness, before going out hunting or before undertaking a dangerous
journey.[1]

The Western Kung of Ukuanyama (Oschimpoloveld) speak of
[184] *Erob*, translated by Lebzelter as " God ", who, like *Xu*, lives in a
house in the sky to which the souls of the dead are brought. He is
[782] often prayed to, especially for rain and in hunting, as well as in case
● [224] of illness, " because he has made all things and can do everything
and knows everything ", and he is given the first offerings of the
[821] chase. The rain comes at his command as a mist out of the earth,
and then falls down, thereupon making thunder and lightning.[2]

821 *Erob* also figures as the " supreme being " among the Heikum of
184 the Etosha Pan, although in prayers for rain and in case of illness he
776 is addressed as *Xu*. The group in North-Eastern Ondonga speak
[782] of the " supreme being " as *Xamaba*, the groups at Ukuambi know
him as *Erob* or *Xuwa*, and the group at Uukualuthi as *Erob*; and
among them all, as among the Eastern Kung, he lives in the sky
in a house to which the souls of the dead are brought. Almost

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[1] " Religiösen Vorstellungen der //*Khun*-Buschmänner," 407-9; *Idem*, " Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 15.

[2] " Religiösen Vorstellungen," 412.

everywhere he is regarded as the creator of all things, including 184
mankind, and he sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, in sickness, 776
before and after hunting, and before travel, and by the group at [821]
Uukualuthi he is also given the first-offerings of the chase, as among [782]
the Kung of the Oschimpoloveld. Almost everywhere he has [224]
neither wife nor children; it is only among the Eastern Kung that
mention is made of these. He is regarded everywhere as benevolent
and good, but appears to have no connection with the moral life of
the people.[1]

The !O Kung in Angola did not mention *Erob* or *Xuwa*, but spoke
again of *Huwe*. Here, as we have seen, *Huwe* occasionally appears
at the boys' puberty ceremonies and dances with the initiates, sometimes
as a youth, sometimes in double guise as man and woman.
In the prayer to the New Moon his name may also be substituted for
//nwa-se, but apart from this substitution there is no evidence of
worship directed towards him. He is further said to appear to [787]
people in dreams.[2] Of the attributes found by Lebzelter for the
"supreme being" among the Kung and the Heikum no mention
at all is made by Miss Bleek.

Huwe appears again among the Bushmen of the Eastern Kalahari.
They believe, according to Dornan, in a spirit which they variously
call *Dzimo*, *Thora*, and *Huwe*. *Dzimo* is a corruption of the Chwana [177]
word *Modimo*, nowadays generally rendered "God", and is, says
Dornan, "largely used by the tame Bushmen with the same signification."
Thora and *Huwe* are the regular Bushman words. *Huwe*
is here spoken of as the good spirit who wards off disease, gives
plenty, and protects the Bushmen from danger. When any danger [782]
threatens, they will call upon him; Dornan mentions having once
heard some Bushmen of the Sansokwe River sing over and over
again the words *Huwe ka hume ie ie*, *Huwe* come to our aid ie ie. More
often, however, they speak of *Thora*. They say he made all things,
but they are not sure where he dwells, or if he is a person. According 114
to Dornan they look upon him as the Great One, who is over all 776
things, who sends rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in 224
hunting. They often use *Thora* to ensure success in hunting; [821]
when, e.g. they have killed an animal they will praise him for bringing
it under their arrows. This statement Dornan seems to have derived

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[1] Lebzelter, op. cit., 410–12; cf. Schmidt, "Die alten Buschmann-Religion," 197, summarizing Lebzelter's data.

[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 54; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122, 123.

114 from Chapman, who records that once when some Bushmen were
776 with him and he had killed a rhinoceros they threw some dust on
[224] its tail and spat in its eyes before they touched it, muttering meanwhile
"some gibberish" to *Thora*, while on another occasion when he had killed some elephants a similar performance was again enacted by his Bushman attendants.

The distinction between *Thora* and *Huwe* is not quite clear from Dornan's account. In one place he seems to imply that the two words refer to the same conception. Elsewhere, however, he remarks: "Huwe seems an inferior kind of spirit to Thora, for at times the latter is invoked to come to his aid, as if the former were not powerful enough to defend himself and his children. Some Bushmen near the Tuli River sang the following words, in an agitated and melancholy
[539] voice: 'Thora ba Huwe i-e i-e, Thora come to the help of Huwe
[782] i-e i-e,' ad lib." From their attributes, however, it seems that the
two conceptions *Thora* and *Huwe* are substantially the same. In all probability the name *Huwe* has drifted in from the west, which would explain why it is sometimes substituted for *Thora*, sometimes found alongside it.[1]

192 In addition to this being variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Erob*,
821 *Thora*, etc., all the Northern Bushmen also speak of *//gauwa* (*Gaua*,
[776] *//gaua*, *//gauab*, etc.). This word, as we have already seen, is used
[184] by the North-Western Bushmen for "a person who has died", or
[775] more precisely, as appears in certain cases, for the ghost of a dead
person. It is, however, also used with a much wider application. Among the Naron and Auen at Sandfontein the wind is called *//gauwa* when it is strong and howls. One of the Naron tales recorded by Miss Bleek speaks of the wind as a man going about, and of *//gauwa* as a bird accompanying him. "*//gauwa* says: 'I make the wind and
192 thus go.'" Some of the people seemed to believe in a supreme
776 *//gauwa*, a being who lives in the east near *Hishe*, to whose house the
114 ghosts repair by day. They said he was *Hishe's* younger brother,
while others said *//gauwa* was *Hishe*. Miss Bleek affirms that no ideas of good or bad qualities are connected with either of these beings, nor are they prayed to. Fourie, however, speaks of *Gaua* among the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron as a "bad being" or "Satan", to whom people dying a "bad death" are said to go,

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[1] Dornan, op. cit., 148–50; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 586, 81. The translation given by Dornan of the prayer in which *Thora* is asked to come to the aid of *Huwe* cannot be relied upon. In another place (*J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1917, p. 53) he renders the same words: "God leave (us) alone ie ie!"

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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776 First there is their chief or headman, simply termed *//gauab* by
ordinary people, but whose real name, known to and uttered only by
the magicians, is */nawa*. "Probably," suggests Lebzelter, "we
[184] have to do here with the high god of another religion, and */nawa*
is to be identified with *//nwa-se*, the New Moon of the Angola Kung."
[782] */nawa* or *//gauab* does good as well as evil. He is prayed to for
[224] success in the chase, assists the hunters in their efforts, and receives
the first-offerings of any game taken; he is also, however, most
[753] frequently the cause of illness. One informant, who had been
baptized, spoke of him as the "devil" who had made the Kung;
others, old magicians, credited him with giving rise to the existence
and present mode of life of men and animals. He is everywhere
and moves between heaven and earth on cords.

775 The second group of spirits are the *//gauab* who stand at the service
of the "great captain". As a rule they lie around their hearth-
776 fires in the sky, the stars, and only come down to earth to steal the
souls of the dead (*xa*) and bring them to *Xu*. The third group
comprises the "small" *//gauab*, the ghosts of the dead, whose home
is the grave but who roam about everywhere and are injurious to
mankind; the fourth are the particularly malicious little spirits
dwelling in the water; and finally there is the whole horde of the
[753] spirits of disease, the *dsao*, small yellow mannikins with thick bellies,
who at the command of any of the other spirits enter into people
[756] and thus make them ill. It is the function of the magicians to remove
them from the body of the patient.[1]

The Western Kung of the Oschimpoloveld have no such elaborate
184 world of spirits. Mention is made only of the */gagorob* or */gau/gorob*,
776 small spirits who roam about in the bush and do nothing but play
practical jokes on people. "They are not the spirits of the dead,"
says Lebzelter, "and cannot therefore be compared with the *//gauab*."[2]

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan we meet again with *//gauab*,
[192] or, as the name is here rendered, */gamab*. Owing to Christian influence
[177] */gamab* is now spoken of as "the devil", but Lebzelter regards this
being as a "demiurge", whom he equates with */nawa* or the principal
//gauab of the Eastern Kung, and with */gamab* of the Bergdama
and Nama. */gamab* is said by the Heikum to have created mankind
and the world; the souls of the dead (*darish*) come to live with him,

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[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //'Khun-Buschmänner," 407–10; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 15.

[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 412.

Nama. Nama influence is seen also in the word *Heiseb* found among 177
the Heikum of the Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga. This 776
is one of the names applied to the mythical hero more commonly
known as *Heitsi Eibib*, who figures so prominently in the religious
system of the Nama. Its absence from the other Bushman tribes [184]
is clearly suggestive, although the name *Hishe* found among the
Naron and Auen may possibly be a corruption of it. The various
current interpretations of *//gaua* as " the evil being ", " the devil " or
" Satan " must likewise be dismissed as alien to native Bushman ideas. [797]
The word has been widely used by missionaries among the Nama
for " Devil ", and there can be little doubt that it is ultimately from
this source that such interpretations have been derived.

All these direct symptoms of borrowing from other peoples show 177
clearly that the religious conceptions of the Northern Bushmen as
recorded above can by no means be regarded as untainted by foreign 771
influences. The final interpretation of these conceptions will therefore
have to take into account the religious ideas of the neighbouring
peoples as well, especially of the Nama, in order that a full basis for
discussion may be obtained. This is all the more necessary since the
information relating to them as now held by the Bushmen is hardly
sufficient to enable us to determine satisfactorily the full meaning
attached to them by the people, to determine, that is, what part they
really play in native life. For the moment, however, it may be of
service if we attempt to reduce to some order the various accounts
given by our authorities of these conceptions.

A general survey of the attributes said to be vested in the different 776
beings figuring in the religion and mythology of the Northern Bushmen
seems to show that on the whole we have to deal with two main
conceptions. There is in the first place the conception known [184]
variously to the North-Western Bushmen as *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Xuwa*, *Hishe*,
or *Erob*, and to the North-Eastern Bushmen as *Thora* or *Huwe*.
By Lebzelter, whose account cannot be entirely freed from a suspicion [114]
of prejudice in favour of the monotheistic doctrine associated with
the name of Pater W. Schmidt and his school of disciples, *Xu* or
Erob is spoken of as an anthropomorphic " supreme good being "
dwelling in a house in the sky, where he receives the souls of the
dead. He is regarded as the creator; he controls the rain and its [821]
associated phenomena of thunder and lightning, and punishes evildoers
with lightning; he sends good fortune in hunting and in the [224]
collection of veldkos, is prayed to before and after hunting, and is [782]
[756]

776 honoured with certain ritual observances connected with the chase;
[782] he is also prayed to for rain, before travel, and in case of illness;
[224] and finally it is from him that the magicians obtain their special
[756] powers. By the Eastern Kung he is said to have a wife and many
children; among the other Kung and the Heikum he figures alone.

Few of these attributes are mentioned by Miss Bleek in her remarks
184 upon *Hishe* among the Naron and Auen, and upon *Huwe* among the
776 !O !Kung. But there are certain points of agreement. *Hishe* dwells in
[775] a house in the east, to which the ghosts of the dead repair by day;
[224] he is regarded as the creator, and as the protector of game and hunting.
On the other hand *Hishe-Huwe*, sometimes alone, sometimes in double
[881] guise as man and woman, sometimes "followed by children like
[114] baboons", figures prominently in the boys' puberty ceremonies, which
are not referred to at all by Lebzelter. At the same time, since these
ceremonies certainly have much to do with hunting, their association
with *Hishe-Huwe* is not inconsistent with his character as protector
of the game and hunting, although of course it is hardly likely that
this provides the only explanation for his figuring in them. Nor
is he ever prayed to among these tribes, save where the name *Huwe*
[782] is substituted by the !O !Kung for *//nwa-se*, the New Moon, in the
prayer for rain. Most of the prayers for food and rain, however, are
directed to the heavenly bodies, especially the Moon.

A closer agreement with Lebzelter's account is provided by Dornan's
[114] discussion of *Thora-Huwe* among the North-Eastern Bushmen.
Thora is here said to be the creator who is over all things, he sends
[821] rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting, certain
[224] hunting observances are directed towards him, he wards off disease,
[753] and protects the Bushmen from danger.

It is possible also to find a connection in certain respects between
Huwe and the conception of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen.
Among the Cape Bushmen, it is true, the Mantis is primarily a mythological character, the central figure of an elaborate series of myths
relating to him and his "family". He is never worshipped, but on
[782] the other hand, like *Huwe*, he has creative powers, and is also said to
[825] have made certain bucks and to protect them. Mention is further
made by these Bushmen of an afterworld to which go the spirits
[775] of the dead, but there is nothing at all to link this up with the Mantis,
just as there is nothing to link up the afterworld of the North-Eastern
Bushmen with *Thora*. The resemblance between the Mantis and
Huwe is far more noticeable among the Bushmen of Basutoland.

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Here also the Mantis is the central figure of many myths; but at 184
the same time he is the creator, he causes life or death, he is especially 776
concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are [761]
addressed to him for food and good luck in hunting, and he is also
connected with certain religious dances at which the "initiated men" [224]
(probably the magicians) cure illness. The elaborate mythological [782]
character of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen and his associa- [755]
tion with so many other figures in these myths preclude an absolute
identification of him and *Huwe*. The resemblance in other respects,
however, appears on the whole to be striking enough to warrant
our connecting the two.

The other outstanding conception is that of *//gaua*, *//gauab*, */gamab*, 184
etc. In all the North-Western tribes the word *//gaua* is used in the 775
first place for the ghosts of dead persons, and one cannot resist
assuming that this is its fundamental significance. Among the
Naron and Auen these ghosts, which as in all the other North-Western
tribes can be seen by the magicians, walk about at night, and people
are afraid of them, but not do expect real harm from them; among [753]
the Eastern Kung, however, all the *//gauab* are the cause of illness,
some do mischief, while others come down to earth to steal the souls
of the dead; among the Heikum of Ukuambi the ghosts move about
on earth and do harm to people, while among the Heikum of the
Etosha Pan the soul goes to live with */gamab*, but may return to
earth to kill people. In general therefore it would seem that dead
people are regarded by the North-Western Bushmen as sources of [753]
injury, and especially as causing illness and even death. The same [761]
idea is conveyed by Dornan's statement, that the North-Eastern [769]
Bushmen avoid the grave of a dead person, "lest the spirit resent
the intrusion."

The word *//gaua* is, however, used also in the sense of a personified 184
being, whose attributes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but appear 776
on closer analysis to show a certain uniformity. The !O Kung ascribe [192]
thunder and lightning to *//gaua*; when anyone is killed by lightning [821]
they say "*//gaua* took him", and people who had met their death
in this way were said to sit in the sky as stars, which are looked upon [775]
as "*//gaua*'s fires". Among the Eastern Kung the stars are also
the fires of the *//gauab*, a shooting star heralds the death of someone, [821]
while lightning is the medium through which *Xu* punishes or kills
people. Among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga *xamaba* [753]
(*/gamab*) inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like, while

makes thunder and lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people 184
by means of shooting stars. Finally, among the Eastern Kung, 776
/nawa or the chief of the *//gauab* figures as the creator, and, as the [821]
executive of *Xu*, he is the source of good luck in hunting and is
honoured with the first-offerings of the chase and prayers for success; [224]
he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. It seems [782]
extremely probable that in all these cases the conceptions of *Huwe* [753]
on the one hand and of *//gaua* on the other have been blended or [178]
confused; they are sufficiently distinct in other respects to make
this assumption appear not entirely groundless. The same explana- 114
tion may be advanced for the conflicting reports given by Miss Bleek 178
and by Fourie of one important feature in the Auen puberty ceremonies 776
for boys: according to the former, it is *Hishe* who figures in the
special dances, while the latter states that this function is fulfilled 881
by *Gaua*. *//gaua*, it will be remembered, also presides at a girl's [184]
puberty dance among the !O Kung. Whether we have here a similar
confusion is uncertain, since in none of the other Bushman tribes do
the supernatural beings figure in these ceremonies for girls. But a
suggestion that this may be the case is conveyed by the fact that
one of Miss Bleek's informants identified *//gaua* with *Ndzambi*,
the Mbunda (Bantu) word for deity, used by the missionaries for
"God", while another spoke of *//gaua* as the "father" of the
Bushmen.

We are left, therefore, with the conception of *Huwe*, *Thora*, or 184
the Mantis (among the Basutoland Bushmen) as the creator, the 776
source of the beneficent rain and of good luck in hunting and food
gathering, and the protector of his people from illness and danger; [224]
and with the conception of *//gaua* first as the ghosts of the dead [753]
and then as a personified being, in both cases the source of illness [821]
and death, inflicted in the latter case through the medium of thunder, [775]
lightning, shooting stars, etc. This analysis is not advanced as an
interpretation of the meaning of these beings, nor does it ignore the
possibility of elements having been borrowed from other peoples;
it is intended merely to summarize briefly what appear to be from
the accounts of our authorities the principal religious conceptions
common to most of the Bushmen of the present time.

MAGIC AND MAGICIANS

In all the Bushman tribes people are found who deal in the 756
mysterious or supernatural, who are regarded as endowed with

114 arrows are not poisoned but are used for "witchcraft", and "if
411 they are shot in the direction of an enemy, be he 100 kilos or more
754 away, witchcraft will bring about his death".[1] The myth recorded
756 by Fourie also lends support to the idea that these arrows are used
for magical purposes. It is possible, too, that something similar is implied in the statement, mentioned above, that among the Cape Bushmen magicians caused illness by shooting with invisible arrows, but it should be noted that no such weapons as those here described have yet been found among them.

Apart from the special magic practised by magicians and associated
789 with them, there are among all the Bushmen various usages and
beliefs of a nature which may be generally termed magical, and which
● 224 are apparently common property. Many of the hunting observances
787 already described fall into this category. So, too, does divination.
Among the Cape Bushmen this occurs principally in the form of
[184] beliefs in the efficacy of omens, of which there are a great number
with diverse significations. They say they feel in their bodies that certain things are going to happen; there is a kind of beating of the flesh which tells them things. Those who are stupid do not understand these teachings and disobey them, with the result that they get into trouble, are killed by a lion, and so on. These beatings tell those who understand them which way not to go, and which arrow it is better not to use, and also warn them when people are coming. They inform the hunter when game is close at hand, tell people where they can find the person for whom they are in search, i.e. which way to go, and so on.[2]

In the more northerly tribes is found the use of pieces of wood,
184 leather or bone as divining bones or dice. These are usually four
787 in number, and roughly triangular in shape, two of them being broad,
the other two longer and thinner. The former are called male, the latter female. In the Eastern Kalahari they are usually each marked in a special way and named, but this is not found further west. The bones may be owned and used by anyone, not only by magicians. They are used in a very crude manner: the inquirer goes on throwing them on to his kaross until he gets a favourable answer. Such bones are frequently found among the Northern and Central Kalahari Bushmen, and occasionally among those dwelling on the southern

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[1] *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cd. 9146), 1918, p. 172.

[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17–18; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 330–9.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933

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South Nguni

The woman, partly through submissiveness to her husband, partly because equally curious to see strange people of a different garb, started out on the journey after a day or two of preparation, dressed in her best garments. She had an escort of thirty or forty Chainouquas for company and for protection against others, especially against the Kochoquas, with whom the Chainouquas were then at war. But while on the way she was attacked unawares by the Kochoquas in a big wood and killed. Her ornamentation, valuables and garments were all trodden under foot, and her escort put to flight. Leaving behind two or three men, they made for the Cape and Chaihantimo, to whom they reported the news of the tragedy. Thereupon he departed instantly to his own country with his people, in order to revenge himself in war against the Kochoquas for this outrage; but he was far too weak in numbers against them.[37] 000

SONQUAS.

The Sonquas[38] are a people dwelling in massive mountainous country. They number several thousands, and are very small in size, both men and women. They have no cattle, but live by shooting rock-rabbits[38a] with the bow and arrow, which they use with remarkable skill. The rock-rabbits have their retreats under the rocks, on top of which they come to bask and play about during the heat of the day; the Sonquas then hit and shoot them down in great numbers with their arrows. They also go out hunting [101] [161] 224 ●

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flight and returned to the great chief of the Chainuquas, who is said with his army to have gone to Chobona to ask for justice in the face of this insult, and assistance to revenge it" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 92-3; D., Dec. 31, 1658). Chaihantima appeared again at the Fort in 1661, when van Riebeeck drily remarks: "this is the same who had told us such stories about his wife having been brought up at the court of the Chobonas, having worn many jewels, and afterwards been killed by the Cochoquas. Though he still adheres to them, we can no longer believe him" (D., Aug. 3, 1661).

[38] Sonqua, Souqua, Sanqua, etc., is the name applied by the Hottentots to the Bushmen, and according to Hahn (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 3) is derived from the root *sa* (plur. *san*), meaning "aborigines or settlers proper". It is significant that van Riebeeck does not mention them at all in the list of tribes prepared for his successor, although they figure often enough in his journal. He says of them: "They are robbers, subject to none, and depending upon their arrows and assagays, treacherously robbing their neighbours of their cattle and their wives" (D., Oct. 31, 1657); and again: "The Soaquas, a tribe without cattle, dwelling beyond, among the mountains of Africa, and mostly robbers" (D., Nov. 8, 1660). 101

[38a] *Hyrax capensis*, still commonly known in S. Africa as "dassies."

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big game, especially wild horses and mules. There are in [224]
those parts wild horses and mules, both so beautifully bred
out by nature that no painter is skilful enough to paint 136
them true to life with all their colouring. The horses have
buttocks extraordinarily dappled, and over the rest of the
body are striped yellow, black, red and pure sky blue. The
mules are also striped, white and chestnut brown, but not
dappled, and are uncommonly beautiful.39) The Sonquas in 439
1662 brought the skin of one of these beasts to the Cape,
which our countrymen bartered from them for tobacco and
other things. It was then filled with straw and hung up for
show in the hall of the Fort, as something curious and
uncommon, which it also is, to be seen by the people of the
incoming ships.40)

The meat of the rock-rabbits constitutes a pleasant food 262
for the Sonquas, who live principally on it and on certain
roots growing in the ground. They also keep many hunting 231
dogs,40a) trained to hunt the rock-rabbits which are their 224
principal food, and knowing how to drag these animals out
of their holes.

They are extremely great plunderers and marauders. 721
They steal from other Hottentots all the cattle they can get, with which they then flee immediately to the mountains, where they cannot be found in their retreats and hidden caves by anybody, not even by other Hottentots.

Their huts, made only of branches twined together, 342
without woven mats, and covered solely with rushes, are 361
several thousand in number; for they move about from one
place to another, and never break up the huts, but erect
still others wherever they camp.

Their little cloaks are sewn together from the skins of 291
the wild oxen which live on the rocks. The women have a *quitazol* or sunshade of ostrich feathers, tied on and about the head, to protect themselves from the heat and burning of the sun's piercing rays.

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had shot a wild horse below the mane in the neck. This horse was 136
very beautifully gray dappled over its whole body, except behind from the back over the buttocks and along the legs which were flame-coloured, with white, sky blue and reddish brown stripes, wonderfully beautiful . . . It had small ears like a horse. The stuffed heads and pieces of skin which the Hottentots sometimes brought to us belong evidently to another sort, as they have long ears, though extraordinarily, curiously and beautifully flame-coloured in white and chestnut brown."

40a) Dogs were the only domestic animals kept by the Bushmen. 231
They were generally lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half starved
and savage tempered, but excellent assistants in the chase, for 224
which they were mainly employed.